

IMPACT OF COUNSELOR RACE AND POWER BASE ON BLACK
AND WHITE COLLEGE STUDENTS

BY

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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
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COUNSELOR'S EXPERT AND REFERENT POWER BASES:
IMPACT ON BLACK AND WHITE CLIENTS

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The study was designed to assess the effects of black and white counselors' expert and referent power bases on the perceptions, attitudes, and behavior of black and white clients. The study makes use of the interpersonal influence counseling model which specifically identifies the components of different counselor roles. The expert and referent roles were individually defined by behavior and reputational cues.

In a factorial design black and white college students were randomly assigned to either a treatment or control condition. Treatment consisted of seeing either a black or white counselor who was trained to be either expert or referent. Those subjects in the control group merely read the same decision making literature discussed in the counseling interview. Subjects who saw counselors rated their perception of the counselor's expertness and attractiveness. All clients' attitudes towards problem solving were assessed. There was also a behavioral measure of rate of return of a follow-up

questionnaire. The independent variables were counselor race, counselor role, and client race. The dependent variables were client perception of the counselor, client attitude toward problem solving, and the frequency of return of a mailed questionnaire.

It was hypothesized that there would be no differences among black and white perceptions of counselors, no differences among black and white attitudes towards problem solving, no differences among black and white rates of return of a questionnaire, and no interactions between any of the independent variables.

Analyses of data determined the black clients perceived all the counselors in general to be more expert than the white clients perceived them. There was a significant main effect for counselor role such that all clients perceived the referent counselors as being significantly more attractive than the expert counselors. Black subjects had a significantly more positive attitude toward problem solving than white subjects. There were no significant differences in rate of return of a questionnaire. There were no significant interactions. Implications for practice, training, and research are discussed.

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

Problem Statement

Griffith (1977) stated that race is unquestionably an influence in both racially similar and dissimilar therapeutic relationships. For Griffith the critical question is not whether race influences the relationship between client and therapist, but under what conditions and in what ways. During the past 15 years there has been a significant increase in the amount of research devoted to the investigation of race as a variable in counselor client relationships. Unfortunately, a large body of the research has avoided the significant aspects of the questions posed by Griffith (1977). Instead, most of the research has consisted of essays and discussions about the nature and needs of the interracial therapeutic dyads.

Making theoretical assumptions about the nature of black-white relationships in therapy is fundamentally sound and expected at the beginning of an investigation of most fields of study. Essays by Vontress (1969, 1970) and Williams and Kirkland (1971), which pointed to cultural differences and educational and experimental needs, provided the subject matter for experimentation in the field. The past 15 years, however, have provided a lot of conflicting material, much of which is merely anecdotal and uncontrolled (Griffith, 1977).

Reviews of literature on the racial issue in therapy between blacks and whites have mirrored the conflicting results of the

information available (Griffith, 1977; Harrison, 1975; Sattler, 1977). According to Griffith (1977) the research does support the conclusion that "social differences have a somewhat negated effect upon psychotherapy" (p. 33). Sattler (1977) takes the opposite view that race "is not a significant variable in affecting the performance and reactions in these types of nonclinical initial interviews" (p. 39). Harrison (1975) acknowledges the mixed results of the available literature but holds for a general trend " . . . counselees tend to prefer counselors of the same race, particularly if they are black counselors" (p. 131). All three reviewers call for research on the counseling process and on behavioral outcomes of interracial counseling. They suggest the need for the study of interactions. Bryson and Bardo (1975) more explicitly conclude that counselor race is in itself insufficient to predict effectiveness of counseling but must be considered with other variables.

The results of reviews of literature on racial dyads in counseling lead to such different conclusions that looking at racial differences alone comes into question as being too simplistic. There are too few experimental studies with control or comparison groups and too few that look at interactions between race and counseling variables (Parloff, Waskow, & Wolfe, 1978). If the essential questions for counselors remain--what kind of treatment is more effective with what kinds of client in what kind of situation--then those questions should be addressed by research.

Some attempts have been made to investigate direct versus indirect therapist styles with different racial populations. Even in these studies, however, the results have been mixed or the control lacking.

Tucker (1973) showed black counselees benefitted more from his action model than from an insight oriented approach, but his study lacked white clients for comparison. Peoples and Dell (1975) used such a comparison group but found both black and white students preferred active versus passive counselors. Atkinson, Maruyama, and Matsui (1978) found a directive approach made the counselor much more credible and approachable to Asian-American students. The only comparable study using black clients has been a recent doctoral dissertation by Boger (1981). In her analogestudy, no significant differences in perceptions existed for black versus white subjects who viewed tapes of directive versus an insight oriented approach.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to include critical elements that have been lacking in earlier research on interracial counseling dyads. The study made use of a counseling model (Strong & Matross, 1973) which specifically delineates the components of different counselor styles or roles. Some components are in terms of behavior, some in terms of reputation, and some in terms of objective evidence such as decor. The specific counselor roles were "expert" and "referent." Other critical elements that were included were randomization, control groups, multiple independent variables, a factorial design, and a variety of dependent variables including perceptual, attitudinal, and a behavioral measure.

The purpose was to assess the effects of black and white counselors' expert and referent power bases on the perceptions, attitudes, and behavior of black and white clients. Black and white counselors

from each role taught a problem solving strategy to student interviewees. Immediately following the interview students took a Problem Solving Attitude Scale (Carey, 1958) and the Counselor Rating Form (Barak & LaCrosse, 1975) to measure their perceptions of counselor expertness and attractiveness (referent power). A behavioral measure, of inferred therapist influence, was the rate of return of a mailed questionnaire. Each dependent measure allowed the investigation of possible separate and combined effects of counselor race, client race, and counselor role.

Need

One difficulty which may have plagued earlier studies of therapist style may have been the complexity of the therapist behavior. The complexity of a very general style of behavior may mask the very details that need to be identified as effective or detrimental. Instead of using untested proposals it may be more advantageous to make use of a specific counseling model that has increasing empirical support. If a style can be specifically identified, described, and supported by research as having specific effects with one segment of the treatment population at large, then that style can be logically investigated for its effectiveness with minority groups in our society. If a "style" or "styles" are part of a theoretical model and are specifically defined, then benefits can be derived not only for the target minority population but also for the counseling model's development. The basis for such a model has existed in social psychology. The model has received extensive explanation and investigation since first introduced by Strong in 1968. The revised model

of Strong and Matross's (1973) interpersonal influence model of counseling may be the means for advancing our knowledge of the process of counseling in general and of counseling blacks in particular.

Even within the proscribed area of social influence research there exists a need to further define the counselor and client characteristics that alter its effectiveness. Merluzzi, Merluzzi, and Kaul (1977) conducted the only study of the Strong and Matross (1973) model that systematically varied race, and in that study only counselor race was varied. All the clients were white. A short review of this study states " . . . subjects were influenced more by racially similar referent and racially dissimilar expert counselors . . . " (Corrigan, Dell, Lewis, & Schmidt, 1980, p. 425). A real need in this research area has been to ascertain the possible differential responses of black clients to different power bases used by different race therapists.

Expert and referent power bases have evidential and behavioral cues that have been specifically delineated in the literature. If these specific variables were studied in interaction with client race and counselor race, then specific conclusions might be drawn for counseling blacks in similar situations. Additionally the social influence model might be expanded to include the client characteristic of race as a determinant of power base effectiveness.

Significance of the Study

Establishing a relationship between counselor race, counseling style, and client race could yield benefits for a counseling model, research, training, and practice. The Strong and Matross (1973)

social influence model of counseling has concentrated on explaining the characteristics of the counselor role that determine the effectiveness of an influence attempt. A study by Merluzzi et al. (1977) has introduced the counselor characteristic of race as a determinant of counselor effectiveness. This study proposed to investigate the need to include the client characteristic of race as a variable that interacts with counselor role and race to affect counselor influence.

The effective demonstration of a relationship between counselor race, counseling style, and client race would enable researchers to focus on the relative strength of each specific behavior subsumed under the counselor roles of expertness and attractiveness. It may be that just one element of any given role is singularly effective in influencing different race clients. Differential role effectiveness would also encourage an expanded exploration of counselor roles to include other racial and ethnic groups within our society.

Empirical evidence of the differential effectiveness of specific roles with black clients would provide impetus for changes in the academic and experiential training of future counselors. Counselor education programs are increasingly addressing the need to consider the different value systems of minority clients. This study should provide some specific guidelines for counselors to adopt, at least in the beginning stages of working with black clients.

Practicing counselors would hopefully see the demonstration of techniques that are effective in working with black clients. Clinical application of counseling behaviors that are empirically demonstrated as effective with blacks would enhance the overall effectiveness of a given agency's service delivery. Black clients would directly

benefit by the elimination of inappropriate counselor behaviors and by the encouragement of effective behaviors.

Definition of Terms

Attractiveness--perceived similarity between communicator and recipient. Similarity is in terms of basic values and attitudes (Strong, 1968). Attractiveness is also a dimension measured by the CRF (Barak & LaCrosse, 1975).

Career Planning Problems--indecision regarding alternative occupations or alternative steps leading to one occupation; also ignorance of logical decision making steps that can be taken to aid in occupational choice or attainment.

Expertness--extent to which communicator is perceived as source of valid assertions. Pertinent knowledge and skills as perceived by the client (Strong, 1968). Expertness is also a dimension measured by the CRF (Barak & LaCrosse, 1975).

Expert Power Base--represents client's need to reduce cost of a particular goal and counselor's ability to do so. It is impersonal and structured.

Power Bases--distinct sources of counselor power that consist of different pairs of client needs and counselor resources.

Problem Solving--a behavioral process, whether overt or cognitive in nature, which (a) makes available a variety of effective response alternatives to a situation and (b) increases the probability of selecting the most effective response (D'zurilla & Goldfried, 1971).

Referent Power Base--predicated on interpersonal attraction. Represents the client's self-perceived inconsistency between behavior and values encountering a perceived similarity with the counselor's world views. The client needs greater consistency between values and behavior; the counselor is presumed to have that consistency.

Organization of the Study

The remainder of this study is organized into four chapters. The second chapter includes a review of the related literature. Topics covered in this section include a review of research on black attitudes toward counselors, black responses in counseling, suggested approaches for counseling blacks, the interpersonal influence model (Strong & Matross, 1973), expertness, attractiveness, and both dimensions together in counseling. The third chapter represents the research methodology. The fourth chapter contains the results of this study. The final chapter summarizes the study, discusses its implications, and makes suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER TWO REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The literature review presents a discussion of the research which forms the background for this study. There are seven sections to this chapter. The first of these deals with studies of black clients' attitudes and preferences for counselors. The second section concentrates more on the process of counseling and the black client's responses to it. The third section presents the approaches and considerations that theorists have suggested for counseling the black client. The fourth section is a description of the bases for the interpersonal model for counseling. The fifth section concentrates on research of counselor expertness, while the sixth section concentrates on counselor attractiveness. The final section presents research into the differential effectiveness of expertness versus attractiveness.

Black Attitudes Toward Counseling

In 1967 Banks, Berenson, and Carkhuff conducted a study focusing on the interaction of counselor race and training in counseling black clients. The results from this study prompted much of the research into the demographic variable of race that was to follow. They used one black and three white counselors in initial interviews. Taped excerpts from these interviews were rated on relationship skills such as empathy, genuineness, rapport, depth of exploration, and concreteness. All of

these values had been shown to be related to constructive client change (Carkhuff, 1966). The results of the study showed that the black and two inexperienced white counselors trained in the relationship oriented approach were significantly more effective than the traditionally trained white therapist. The researchers acknowledged, however, that their most important result was probably the discovery that all black clients would return to see the black counselor, but none would return to see the traditional white counselor. "Further, if the data on the Negro counselor were not considered, 16 of 24 or two-thirds of the clients would not return to see a white counselor for a second session" (Banks et al., 1967, p. 72).

In a study specifically geared to assessing black attitudes toward counseling, Cimboric (1972) randomly selected black freshmen from the University of Missouri student body. Subjects were randomly assigned to either experienced or inexperienced counselors who in turn were either black or white. The selection and design procedures were a deliberate attempt to improve on the Banks et al. (1967) study.

The results of Cimboric's study were a surprising rebuttal to the earlier findings of Banks et al. (1967). The subjects did not seem to favor the counselors on the basis of race but rather on the basis of experience and skill level in facilitative conditions. In addition, all of the black counselees were willing to return to at least one of the white counselors.

A similar positive result for the white therapist-black client pairing was found by Ewing (1974). His study strongly agreed with the implications of Cimboric's (1972) study. The results did not favor the hypothesis that black counselors were more effective with black

clients. All interview sessions consisted of one time precounseling interviews. College students were randomly assigned to black and white counselors, all of whom were highly experienced. Not only did the black clients rate white counselors as favorably as they did black counselors, but the black clients tended to rate counseling more favorable overall. Ewing concluded that it is not the similarity of racial background that is important but the training and experience of the counselor.

In his discussion Cimbolic (1972) made some suggestions which may help explain the differences in results between the Banks et al. (1967) study and Cimbolic's (1972) and Ewing's (1974) studies. Cimbolic's clients participated in a four interview session study. Cimbolic suggested that a future study look at precounseling attitudes of the black clients. He suggested some process could have taken place over time to cancel out the effects of different races.

A later study by Wright (1975) tracked the change in attitudes of black clients over five sessions. Initially, no preconceived notions were reported. As the number of sessions increased, there was an apparent increase in the favorable perception of counselors of the opposite race. Using the Barrett-Leonard Inventory (1962) Wright managed to show there was a relationship that existed between counselor race and student perceptions of trust, and that this relationship changed over time. This finding offers a reasonable explanation for the different results between the Banks et al. (1967) study and that of Cimbolic. Unfortunately the issue is not clear because Ewing used only one interview session to obtain positive results for the inter-racial dyad.

The vast majority of research depicts a black client population that not only prefers black counselors before entering counseling, but is more satisfied with them afterwards. Heffernon and Breuhl (1971) trained college males in Rogerian principles of counseling. The four black and four white counselors were each assigned to three black eighth graders. The eighth graders were matched on intelligence plus several other variables. Significant results were obtained on a behavioral measure, when the boys were given a choice to go to the library or return to visit the counselor. All of the black counselors' boys returned, but less than one half of the white counselors' boys did.

Race, education, and experience were the variables investigated by Gardner (1972) to assess their effects on black clients' perceptions of counselor effectiveness. All three variables were found to be significant for effectiveness with black clients. Race was the most significant. Gardner had used 24 male and 24 female black students with four white and four black counselors in a format similar to the Banks et al. (1967) study. Counselors were rated not only by the students but by two Ph.D level judges on their interpersonal processes.

The Gardner study was positive in two of its conclusions. First, the results indicated that individuals with backgrounds similar to the client's could be recruited and trained as counselors. Secondly, the author felt individuals who were not similar in background, but who could generate facilitative conditions, would be appropriate for use with black clients.

Linking possible interaction of the racial issue in counseling to experience of the counselor seemed to be the beginning of a decade-long attempt to study possible interactions with the demographic variable of race. Jackson and Kirschner (1973) found that there was a significant difference for counselor preference based upon the black's self-designation as a black, Afro-American, or Negro. Those who referred to themselves as blacks or Afro-Americans preferred a counselor of African descent. No significant differences were found relating to sex, age, or socioeconomic background.

Focusing entirely on the relationships of race and social class, Wolkon, Moriwaki and Williams (1973) had findings that support a social class factor operating in conjunction with black attitudes. Social class was the significant variable related to orientation to therapy, but race was crucial with self-disclosure and with treatment satisfaction. Regardless of class, blacks disclosed less even to other blacks and were not satisfied with the treatment they received.

Gordon and Grantham (1979) had similar results in studying the helper preference of disadvantaged students. They discovered a slight preference for a helper of the same sex, age, and race. There was a definite preference for a helper of the same social class background. Studying counselor preference among a sample of delinquent girls, Gamboa, Tosi, and Riccio (1976) looked at three possible problem areas: personal-social, educational, and vocational. In general, the girls were most willing to see a counselor to discuss educational and vocational issues. Black girls had a significant negative attitude toward personal-social counseling. This information is similar to what Woldon et al. (1973) noted about self-disclosure.

Most studies of black attitudes and responses to counseling have been in a university setting. In that environment Thompson and Cimboric (1978) looked at black student preferences and attitudes toward counseling center use in a predominantly white university. When forced to choose between a black and white counselor, the students tended to choose black counselors. The black students also indicated that their likelihood of using the counseling center increased with the likelihood that their preference would be satisfied. Similar results were obtained in dissertations by Peoples (1978) and Albert (1978). Albert's study compared predominantly white and black universities. On both campuses race was a significant issue in the black client's preference for a counselor.

In a study of the three racial groups, Schneider, Laury, and Hughes (1980) found main effects for race, sex, and provider groups for Chicano, black and white college students. Blacks and Chicanos reported they would more likely take their personal problems to professional mental health workers. On the surface this result seems counter to that reported by Gamboa et al. (1976) and Wolkon et al. (1973), but it may actually reflect blacks and Chicanos would go to the "more prestigious" professionals for their personal problems, if they had to go. The therapists were broken down into classifications: psychiatrist, clinical psychologist, counseling psychologist, college counselor, high school counselor, and advisor. Preference for the professions was in the order listed, implying a hierarchy of perceived expertise.

Harrison's (1975) review of the literature on race as an issue in counseling comes to the same conclusion as this author. Although

the results of the research on black preference for counselors sometimes offers mixed results, the preponderance of evidence is indicative of a definite trend to prefer same race counselors.

Black Responses to Counseling

There exists no consensus of evidence on one side or the other regarding the issue of race in counseling process and client response. On the contrary, the results are mixed and frequently contradictory. An early review by Banks (1971) of the process and outcome research on interracial therapy cites relatively few studies of any merit. Banks notes that much research in counseling and psychotherapy that deals with the racial issue is anecdotal. Two strong early studies cited by Banks are Banks, Berenson, and Carkhuff (1967) and Carkhuff and Pierce (1967). The first study has already been described as a prompting of much research that was to follow.

Carkhuff and Pierce (1967) designed a study to look at the effects of the counselor's race and social class upon the patient's depth of self-exploration. They used black and white counselors of both upper and lower class with black and white patients of both classes. A significant interaction was found between counselor and client variables. Race and social class of both patient and counselor had significant effects upon depth of that self-exploration. Patients most similar to the race and social class of the therapist explored themselves the most.

In a study of his own Banks (1972) looked at the effects of race, social class, and level of empathy in the counseling process. He hypothesized that racial similarity had an effect on the initial

interview relationship. Using the same design as Banks, Berenson, and Carkhuff (1967), he found that racially similar pairings resulted in greater self-disclosure. Surprisingly, social class was not found to have an effect, but no lower class counselors were used as in the Carkhuff and Pierce (1967) study. The evidence suggests that empathy had a greater effect on rapport than race.

Looking closer at the nature of the counselor-client interaction, Bryson and Cody (1973) studied the relationship of counselor and client race to the level of understanding between the two of them. They discovered that race is related to understanding in the counseling relationship. Thirty-two undergraduates, evenly divided according to race and sex, were assigned to graduate level counselors in such a way that each counselor saw a client of each race and sex. Independently trained judges evaluated the levels of agreement on specific statements recorded in the interviews. Results suggested that the race of the counselor was significant to understanding in the counseling process, but the race of the client was not related to understanding. White counselors understood white clients best, and black counselors understood black clients best.

In another study on depth of self-disclosure and racial interaction, Grantham (1973) varied counselor sex, race, and language style. Subjects were a special population of disadvantaged black students. Grantham was interested in demonstrating that there was a direct relationship between client-counselor similarity and progress made in counseling. As in earlier studies cited in this section, counselor-client racial similarity had a significant effect on client

satisfaction. Post hoc analysis, however, resulted in controversial findings.

In Grantham's study (1973) satisfaction did not appear to be influenced by level of facilitative conditions. The greater satisfaction was related to race, not to the level of facilitative conditions used by the counselor. The level of facilitative functioning of the black counselor was not as important as that counselor's race. If all counselors had the same level of functioning, black counselors were preferred. There was even a reverse effect of lower self-exploration when black counselors were highly facilitative. Grantham suggested the possibility of facilitative conditions operating differently across race.

In two studies of black client responses in the mental health setting (Sue, McKinney, Allen, & Hall, 1974; Sue, 1977a), it was found that blacks were not even receiving treatment equal to the quality given to white clients. They were placed in inferior treatment programs and assigned to paraprofessionals rather than to professional personnel. The response of the black clients in over 50 percent of the cases was to terminate treatment early (Sue et al., 1974). Sue proposes that at least in some agencies the differences in outcome may be more indicative of misapplication of current techniques than in differences in clientele. Responsive services would include trained specialists, independent services in the minority community, and development of new therapeutic approaches (Sue, 1977a).

The literature so far cited in this section has been one-sided in rating significant racial effects on the counseling process and outcome. The next grouping of studies offers mixed and in some cases

contradictory evidence. One particular study serves as an ideal transition reference between the arrays of evidence in that it can be interpreted both ways.

In 1974 Williams found no differences in trust and self-disclosure ratings of black students who were seen by white professional counselors or by black lay counselors who had several hours of training in facilitative skills. Williams concluded that his results supported the contention that the race of the therapist is not a significant variable in counseling. A review by Parloff, Waskow, and Wolfe (1978) aptly pointed out that the results can be interpreted in just the opposite direction. They ask the reader to consider how impressive it is for slightly trained blacks to do as well as white professionals with the black clients.

Another study with mixed results was conducted by Jones (1978). Fourteen female clients (seven white and seven black) were seen by therapists in all four possible matches. Clients were seen for 10 sessions. Outcome was measured by both therapist and client responses to questionnaires. Process rates and recordings were subjected to specially designed Q-sort. There were no differences in outcome as a result of racial matching. There were no differences in attitudes, impressions, or dropout rate. Race, however, did influence process. If the client was white, it mattered little if the therapist was white or black, there was no difference in process. If the client was black, regardless of the race of the therapist, a discussion of race-related concerns evolved as an important aspect of therapy. If the client was black, there was a significant erotic transference and a greater focus on issues of concern if the counselor was also black.

Jones concluded his discussion with a cautionary warning about the generalizability of those studies which are based on one interview. He discovered such dramatic changes in his 10-session study that the first interview was drastically different in terms of counseling relationship than later sessions.

Other studies have consistently found results in the direction suggesting no difference in counseling effects that can be attributed to racial pairing. Woods and Zimmer (1976) made use of interracial dyads and an attitude measure based on the semantic differential. He found no differences in client perceptions of attraction in the analogue study. Vail (1978) studied early termination from therapy in an inner-city mental health setting. Black male and female clients were randomly assigned to male and female, black and white therapists. Variables considered for influence included counselor and client sex, race, racial attitudes, and perception of level of understanding in therapy. The only significant correlate of termination was the sex pairing of client and therapist. Although the race of the therapist did not matter statistically, most of the interaction occurred between male therapists and black male clients. Female therapists also were less effective with their own sex client.

Proctor and Rosen (1981) studied possible effects of expectancies and preferences for therapy on intermediate outcomes of treatment. They used both white and black outpatient veterans in their study. All counselors were white. Both white and black clients expected to be treated by a white counselor, but preferences were different. One-half of each racial group had no preference; the other half had preferences significantly in favor of a counselor of their own race.

Drop-out rate and satisfaction with treatment, however, showed no differences between the races. Not having black counselors incorporated in the design prevented inferring that blacks do as well with white counselors as they do with blacks.

The studies addressed so far have focused either on the simple issue of racial differences, attitudes, or on the interaction of essentially demographic variables when counseling black clients. The assumptions and claims of theorists recommending specific approaches to be taken with the black clients began to be more actively addressed in the mid-1970's. The hope apparently has been that by identifying specific components of counselor style, the confusion over conflicting results can be dissipated to the benefit of client, practitioners, and researcher. As early as 1967 Bancroft, then later Russell (1970), suggested that counselor style rather than race might be the reason that counselors were reporting differential success with minority clients. At that time Bancroft argued that blacks might not be accustomed to a reflective style of counseling. Russell (1970) argued that blacks might not be desirous of it.

The first significant study to look at different racial reactions was Roll, Schmidt, and Kaul (1972). They made use of Strong's (1968) interpersonal influence model of counseling as well as information from Kaul and Schmidt's (1971) research which provided definitions of verbal and nonverbal cues of trustworthiness. Roll et al. used videotaped segments of combinations of content and behavior. They discovered that there was a significant content-manner combination which was perceived as trustworthy by both black and white convicts. Trustworthy cues included eye contact, forward body lean, hand

gestures, head nods, and an upright but relaxed posture. Untrustworthy behavior included distracting movements, an overly relaxed posture, leaning away from the client, and absence of hand movement. There was no difference between the perceptions of whites and blacks.

In 1975 Peoples and Dell conducted an analogue study to measure black and white student reaction to other types of black and white counselors. Both counselors were female but one was white, the other was black, and they played both an active and a passive role. Peoples and Dell hoped to account for the varied findings reported in other studies and considered counselor style as a strong possible interacting variable. Results demonstrated a significant preference for the active counselor by both races. The authors reasoned that the amount and type of activity in the active role made that counselor appear much more competent. Dreeman (1977) reports that university counseling center clients in general prefer active counselors who worked hard toward system relief of both cognitive and behavioral problems.

In a related study of the possible differential effects of counselor race and approach on subject's perceptions, Atkinson, Maruyama, and Matsui (1978) compared directive versus nondirective approaches with Asian-American students. They were able to provide strong evidence supporting the use of a direct, logical, structured approach for use with Asian-American students. More importantly, their results imply that specific counseling techniques are not necessarily generalizable to all cultures.

Fry, Kropf, and Coe (1980) looked at the effects of client and counselor racial similarity from a different perspective. They investigated the effects of racial similarity on the counselor's response

patterns in therapy. Similarity in race in the counseling dyad resulted in a smoothly flowing communication interaction. Dissimilarity led to disproportionate expressiveness towards black clients and increased attending toward white clients. The interaction of client and counselor race were shown to be prime mediators of counselor style.

Suggested Approaches and Theory

Rogers' (1957) article on the necessary and sufficient conditions of change in therapy provided the impetus and gave the direction for countless studies over the past two decades. The successful application of a theoretical model or technique to one population, however, is no guarantee of its application to a culturally different population. As Harper (1973) points out "counselors must be careful in applying various concepts and propositions of psychological theory to the behavior of black counselees, especially poor blacks" (Harper, 1973, p. 113).

The theorists in the field of cross cultural or minority counseling have at various times called into question the ability, or at a minimum the difficulty, of the white counselor to achieve some of the core conditions with black clients. Is the therapist truly congruent in terms of feeling and behavior toward the black? Does the therapist experience unconditional positive regard? Can the white therapist have an empathic understanding of the client's internal frame of reference? Is this communicated? These questions are posed in terms of Rogers' theory (1957), but significant and thought-provoking issues have come from other sources.

Vontress published several articles in the late 60's and early 70's which helped establish a new foundation of interest in working with the black client. His 1969 article cited significant, but not insurmountable, barriers to the establishment of a successful black-white counseling relationship. Prejudicial racial attitudes, black reservations about self-disclosure, different language styles, the sex and race taboo, and mutual ignorance about each other were all put forth by Vontress as significant parts of the counseling barrier. The greatest blockage was attributed to the counselor's lack of understanding of the client's background.

This led Vontress to make specific suggestions about counselor training programs (Vontress, 1970). He stressed the need for inculcating greater counselor sensitivity. This was to be achieved by increasing service training in the black environment, not in the middle-class service setting. Counselor curriculums were to be revamped (Vontress, 1971) to take into account unique aspects of racial differences: easier rapport with women than with men, urban-rural differences, lower rates of self-disclosure. The occurrences of affective experiences with black clients in their settings would humanize counselors and help remove barriers to the establishment of rapport (Vontress, 1974).

The result of Vontress's speculation on the differences between blacks and whites was an optimistic approach which was aimed at capitalizing on the similarities of the human condition. Vontress (1979) stated that humans are fundamentally more alike than they are different, and that these similarities should be used by counselors to communicate with and understand those from different cultures. Vontress

argued for an existential approach which puts aside analyses of differences and instead concentrates on the commonalities of people.

Borrowing terms from existential philosophy, Vontress pointed out that all humans had to deal with the same Umwelt; that is, we confront the same basic survival problems. We have the same social needs and longing for others (Mitwelt). There is a part of us that is difficult to share with anyone no matter what our culture (Eigenwelt). There is a constant interaction of this private world with the Umwelt and Mitwelt and this is the experience counselor and client can share. Existentialism for Vontress offers great promise for bridging cultural and racial differences. As a philosophy it has great merit, but as a practical approach to counseling too much is missing.

Harper and Stone (1974) presented a theory for counseling blacks that was highly specific in its recommendations. It grew out of Harper's (1973) idea that the social needs of blacks need to be understood before theories are applied to them. Assessment and action are the two key processes for their approach. Based on their assumptions that black clients do not have the patience and time for slow passive therapies, they recommended action and responsibility oriented action approaches. In a rotating sequence from assessment to action to assessment, the black clients' basic needs, responsibility, behavior, and personal growth are dealt with. The goal is to help the black client transcend his environment.

Tucker (1973) also recommended a very action-oriented approach. Tucker stated that preparing counselors to work with black clients took special efforts because of the widespread poverty and high visibility of black Americans. His action model was based on specific

goal setting and aggressive commitment to change. Like Vontress (1974) and later McDavis (1978) the counselors were to become actively involved in the client's environment, but he was not just referring to student experiences but rather an aggressive outreach program. Verbal and nonverbal cues were emphasized to build up basic trust. From that point on specific short-term and long-term goals were prioritized, strategies were assessed, and behaviors implemented. His program has elements highly similar to Harper and Stone's (1974) assessment and action process, but each step is much more specifically defined. Tucker assessed the merits of his model with 40 black students. Not only were the action counselors perceived as more helpful, but action counselors differed significantly regarding degree of satisfactory solutions.

Williams and Kirkland (1971) claimed that white counselors would hamper black client growth patterns, unless they received special training from a black perspective. This training had several key components including a commitment to an advocate, a bicultural role, and certification by black psychologists. Williams and Kirkland emphasized the necessity for the white counselor to reject the deficit model of the black experience and the need to accept the difference model. The difference model posits that differences between blacks and whites are not due to pathology.

Smith (1977), in a highly emotional article, attacked the foundation of many approaches to counseling blacks which are based on stereotyped concepts. She questioned the validity and assumptions of testing results, the social consequences of research, the arbitrary use of intervention techniques, and the role of stereotyping in keeping

counselor and client apart. Discerning the truth about the black client may not be possible for a counselor believing one set view which pictures the black client as being merely opposite everything that is white middle class. Smith believes counselors have actually contributed to the stereotyping of blacks and that we must increase our awareness of their real needs.

Derald Sue has been a prolific writer in the field of counseling minorities in general and Asian-Americans in particular. His 1977 article on counseling the culturally different recommended a systematic approach that took into account four variables that characterize the culturally different client as distinct. Those variables are different cultural values, different class values, language factors, and the unique experience of oppression. General counseling approaches may not always be appropriate with such variables, and even if they are, the goals selected may be inappropriate. Sue believes it is critical to not only have an awareness of the minority group's culture but of the value assumptions inherent in psychological approaches. Choices between abstract versus concrete goals, action versus introspection, and privacy versus disclosure are some of the critical valued issues involved in counselor-client conflict.

Sue and Sue, in a 1977 article on barriers to counseling the culturally different, described in detail third world variables of language, class, and culture and made recommendations for dealing with them for several racial groups. For blacks, Sue recommends a concrete, structured approach that is action-oriented. Importance is

placed on nonverbal behavior in communication. Instead of letting the client's ethnicity serve as a barrier to the counselor-client relationship, it can be used to therapeutic advantage.

Sue (1978a, 1978b) provided a general theory of how race and culture interacted to provide people with specific world views. Those world views were characterized by two concepts--locus of control and locus of responsibility. Locus of control is one's orientation on whether reinforcements are contingent on one's behavior or occur as a result of chance. Locus of responsibility is one's blame system. Success or failure is attributed to either one's skills or to the environment. Sue proposes that the Western World counseling approach is based on a world view of internal control and internal responsibility, which frequently clashes with minority world views of passivism, oppression, and even militancy. The minority world views vary depending on whether an individual's orientation is internal or external on the two loci, control and responsibility.

A client's particular world view has implications for treatment. If internal on both loci, then the client would benefit from current approaches. If the client's orientation is external on either or both loci, then a counselor with standard therapeutic approaches could well be imposing his world view. Sue calls this cultural oppression. A more amenable solution is to take the client's world view into account. For example, new coping skills could be taught to those who give control and responsibility to the environment. Research is lacking exploring the appropriate approaches to these different world views.

Kinzie (1978) sought to identify those aspects of cross cultural psychotherapy that were technically effective in application of the medical model of therapy. He notes that the "sick role" is an accepted role in most cultures and has a pretty clear relationship with the "healer" role. The medical figure appears to be useful in using his moral authority to promote patients' health. Sensitivity to nonverbal communication and the subjective phenomenological world of the client is important. He also cites awareness of value systems inherent in therapy as being important before they are arbitrarily applied.

A comprehensive approach that is truly eclectic has been advocated by McDavis (1978). This approach makes use of inputs from six existing counseling approaches. The counselor does not have to learn new techniques, but how to combine them in a new way, when working with a black client. The techniques chosen take into account the research and theories that have been influential over the past decade. Specific concepts are drawn from three approaches as a philosophical foundation. The orientation is existential. Concepts from the client-centered approach are acceptance, understanding, and congruence. Reality therapy concepts involve commitment of counselor and client and a nonjudgemental attitude.

Application of the model is relatively straightforward. The philosophical orientation is evidenced by counselor outreach and involvement in the living and social life of the black community. This is reminiscent of the suggestions made by Vontress (1970, 1971). Establishing a relationship and making a commitment could

be facilitated by counselor self-disclosure. The client is encouraged to be the sole judge of his own behavior and to make a commitment to the counseling process.

Techniques are borrowed from Gestalt, Behavioral and Rational-Emotive approaches. An emphasis on a transition to self-support comes from the Gestalt approach. The use of out of session tasks and changing irrational belief systems comes from rational-emotive therapy. Finally, goal setting, role playing, and modeling are drawn from behavioral approaches. It is up to the counselor to decide the appropriate timing of each technique. This is to be based on the nature of the client's needs and progress. The focus of individual client needs and active counselor involvement has been a relatively common thread running through the literature.

In response to criticisms in the literature of traditional approaches to counseling blacks (Tucker, 1973; Vontress, 1970, 1971) Schauble, Parker, Probert, and Altmaier (1979) attempted a novel strategy in introducing minority students to a positive experience with counseling. The researchers implemented a three step program which introduced the psychologist, group experience, and individual counseling in a nonthreatening manner. The psychologists initially came into the classroom in an instructive role--to teach academic skills and some basic psychological principles. In the second step students became involved in small group interactions to explore personal interaction issues. Finally, the students were given the opportunity to voluntarily seek individual counseling with their group leader. Assessment of the program was informal, but the

higher percentage of student voluntary use of the university counseling facilities plus their referral of peers suggested this outreach program had significant merit for use of predominantly white campuses.

Reviews of the literature on race as a counselor client variable appear to have as much disagreement as the individual research articles. If there is any consensus at all, it appears to be that the results are mixed on many issues and that a large portion of the research accomplished has been anecdotal and uncontrolled (Griffith, 1977). Higgins and Warner (1975) cited the paucity of quality research in the area of counseling blacks, the mixed results, and the inconsistency of the literature. They did conclude that counselors should emphasize empathy in working with minorities and should use an action approach. They also held that black counselors were more effective not as a function of race but as a function of cultural understanding and language.

Bryson and Bardo (1975) reported three types of literature related to counseling blacks--client characteristics, counselor characteristics, and the counseling process itself. Lower class blacks were described as submissive and suspicious, while upper class blacks were described as passible and uncommunicative in therapy. Counselor race was viewed as potentially obstructive in good therapy. Inappropriate techniques were found to be used in therapy with blacks. "The general conclusion seems to be that although counselor race as a simple variable is insufficient qualification for predicting effectiveness, it is a factor that must be considered (Bryson & Bardo, 1975, p. 75).

Sattler (1977) is one reviewer who does not conclude there is a trend for race as a significant variable in therapy. He reached this decision because his review included a number of studies, already cited in this text, that demonstrated no difference, or even a difference in the reverse direction expected.

Harrison (1975) admits the results are mixed but claims there is enough evidence to note a trend for clients to prefer same race counselors. Black clients in particular prefer black counselors. The crucial variable, regardless of race, appears to be the counselor's ability to communicate empathic understanding. During the counseling process blacks tend to respond negatively to white counselors in terms of preference, self-exploration, and language. Harrison believes two theoretical viewpoints are the bases for the different findings. The first is that black counselors assumed similarity of experience with black counselors. The other theory is one of role expectations generated by black and white social history.

As late as 1978, in their review of therapist variables in processes and outcome, Parloff et al. concluded that there is not much definitive evidence on the effects of race per se. They reason that attitudes of the therapist may be more important than his or her sex or race. It is highly likely that the very manner, or style, of the therapist communicates a great deal to the black client about that therapist's attitudes towards a host of issues. A great deal of research on stylistic behavior and its bearing on a therapist's perceived expertness, attractiveness, and trustworthiness has been conducted with white clients. The model for such research has been the

interpersonal model of counseling (Strong, 1968). This model has not been systematically examined for applicability to the black client.

The Interpersonal Influence Model

The origin of the thought processes that evolved into the Strong and Matross (1973) model of interpersonal counseling can logically be traced back to the notion of systematic causality as espoused by Kurt Lewin (1935). This dynamic view of change assumes that all behavior is caused by forces acting on an individual at the time a given behavior is emitted. "Influence is understood to be a product of the changing relationship between two individuals rather than a function of the static and discrete characteristics of the influencer and influencee. The basis of influence is interdependence" (Johnson & Matross, 1977, p. 397). The counseling relationship can be viewed as such an interdependent relationship.

Another major assumption comes from the dissonance theory of Festinger (1957). From this theory is derived the motivating force for the client. It assumes there is a tendency for consistency in our thoughts about ourselves and about our environment. The existence of inconsistent cognitive elements produces dissonance. The discomfort of dissonance motivates the individual to seek relief.

There are two other assumptions made for the model which stem logically from the first two. The first is that the change process in counseling is a direct result of the interaction of the counselor and the client. The second is that counseling is specifically defined as an interaction process in which the counselor's task is to influence the client to change, and the client's task is to be influenced by the

counselor. The task of influence should not be confused with manipulation for the counselor's purposes. As Johnson and Matross (1977) caution, influence is focused on the achievement of the client's chosen and agreed goal. "The therapist influences a client to the extent that the therapist furnishes resources needed by the client for the accomplishment of highly valued goals and to the extent that the client cannot obtain these resources at a lower cost from other relationships" (Johnson & Matross, 1977, p. 405).

How does the counselor influence the client? Different pairs of client needs and counselor resources are considered to be sources of counselor power. Each pair is considered a power base. The original classification of power bases came from French and Raven (1959). They also described influence strategies in social psychology in terms of social power; the basis of power is the nature of the relationship between two people. French and Raven (1959) considered five sources of power: reward, coercive, legitimate, referent, and expert. The last three were considered to be individual sources of influence.

The typology used by Strong (1968) comes more from the revised typology and definitions of power bases in Raven (1965). In this typology of Raven's, expert power "stems from the attribution of superior knowledge or ability to the influencing agent" (Raven, 1965, p. 374). Referent power exists "when a person uses another person as a 'frame of reference,' as a background, or as a yardstick against which he evaluates some aspect of himself" (Raven, 1965, p. 374). Legitimate power is based on "the influencee's acceptance of a relationship in the power structure such that the agent is permitted or obliged to prescribe behaviors for him . . ." (Raven, 1975, p. 375).

Strong (1968) labeled his power bases in terms of communicator characteristics which prevent the client from derogating the counselor, when there is perceived dissonance. Because of these positive characteristics, the counselor is a highly credible communicator and dissonance is likely to be reduced by change in the direction of influence. These source characteristics, drawing from Raven (1965) and French and Raven (1959), are expertness, attractiveness, and trustworthiness. Attractiveness as a source characteristic corresponds to Raven's (1965) referent power base. Sometimes the term "referent" is used in current research. Trustworthiness is defined as perception of the counselor's interest to communicate the most valid assertions.

A fourth version of the power bases appeared in Strong and Matross (1973). They listed five power bases: expert, referent, legitimate, informational, and ecological. The first three are the main sources of power for the therapist in the interview. Counselor expert sources are described as knowledge and skills as perceived by the client. Counselors can be referents depending upon the similarity of values and attitudes with their clients. Counselors have legitimate roles as help givers in personal problems (Strong & Matross, 1973).

The power of a counselor to influence change is dependent upon the counselor-client relationship. The client's dependence on the counselor is the measure to which he perceives the counselor's resources correspond to his needs. The key element is client perception of his needs and of counselor attributes not actual needs nor actual counselor resources.

Development of the interpersonal influence model was influenced and supported by other attitude change studies. The works of Hovland,

Janis, and Kelly (1953) led directly to definitions of the source characteristics used by Strong (1968). Zimbardo (1960) conducted a study on opinion change in which it was discovered that the magnitude of the opinion change was dependent on the involvement of the subjects, and the attractiveness and credibility of the communicator. Patton (1969) also conceived of counseling and therapy as a social influence process. He tested client responses to interpersonal attraction of the communicator and the congruence of expectations. He found client responses were contingent upon both factors.

McGuire (1969) presented a review of influential source characteristics which included credibility, attractiveness, and power. His descriptions closely corresponded to the three power bases used by Strong (1968). Simmons, Berkowitz, and Moyer (1970) reviewed the literature on attitude change and were able to distinguish between cognitive and affective components of change. The cognitive component was affected by expertise and prestige, while the affective component was influenced by liking and friendliness.

Strupp (1973) also sees the therapeutic situation as a power base for psychological influence. He argues that there is no such thing as nondirective psychotherapy. Influence is inherent in the helper role. Client attraction to the counselor accounts for some of the variance in counselor ability to create an effective relationship.

An entire series of research studies went into the development of the Counselor Rating Form (CRF) (Barak & LaCrosse, 1975) which provide ample evidence for the existence of the three dimensions of perceived counselor behavior: expertness, attractiveness, and trust. In the original investigation of the three dimensions predicted by Strong

(1968), Barak and LaCrosse (1975) showed over 200 subjects filmed interviews of Rogers, Ellis, and Perls. Subjects were then asked to rate the counselors based on a 36 adjective list. The list itself was constructed from a much larger one. All the items on it had been selected by a panel of four expert judges who were familiar with research in the area. After rating forms were collected and separated according to each counselor, they were factor analyzed. According to test results, the three factor approach seemed to be the most appropriate. Across the ratings of all three counselors, the dimensions of expertness, attractiveness, and trust appeared to be distinct from each other. The average percentage of total variance accounted for by the factors was 52 percent. Any attempt to extract another factor resulted in meaningless additional factors of only one or two items.

In 1976 LaCrosse and Barak tested the reliability of the CRF and its ability to differentiate between counselors on the perceived dimensions. The reliability coefficients across counselors were .874 for expertness, .850 for attractiveness, and .908 for trustworthiness. The data also indicated that the counselors (taped interviews of Rogers, Perls, and Ellis were used) were differentially perceived with $p < .01$ (LaCrosse & Barak, 1976).

A replication and extension of the previous study was made by Barak and Dell (1977). Their data showed the CRF to be sensitive to the perceived differences among counselors on the three predicted dimensions. The CRF was sensitive to those differences even among counselors of low or moderate experience. Barak and Dell also reported a significant positive relationship between perceptions of

expertness, attractiveness, and trustworthiness and willingness to see a counselor.

In a comparative study of client perceptions of the three relevant dimensions, LaCrosse (1977) used actual clients in a mental health setting. Following one of their interviews, clients were asked to fill out the CRF and the Barrett-Lennard Relationships Inventory (BLRI) (Barrett-Lennard, 1962). The interview occurrence ranged from the first to the twenty-fourth for any particular client. There were no differences in perception due to nonfirst session ($p < .05$). Observers ratings of counselors were consistently more conservative than client ratings. Clients rated the counselors highest, followed by the counselors self ratings, followed by observer ratings. Inter-correlations obtained for the CRF with the BLRI were high, ranging from .51 to .80.

The LaCrosse (1977) study supported the results of Barak and LaCrosse (1977) in which both counselors and supervisors provided lower perception of a counselor's performance than the clients did. Even the novice counselor in the Barak and LaCrosse (1977) study rated his performance lower than the client. Both studies strongly suggest the utility of the instrument and the use of the three dimensions with different population groups: students, mental health patients, counselor trainees, supervisors, and practitioners.

In 1980 LaCrosse conducted a study into the predictive validity of the CRF. He hypothesized that a positive relationship would occur between perceptions and outcomes. Total CRF ratings correlated moderately highly with outcomes ($r = .53$, $p < .001$). Expertness ratings correlated most highly, followed by attractiveness and trustworthiness.

The three CRF variables accounted for 35 percent of the variance on outcome. Perceived expertness accounted for 31 percent of the variance by itself. The study generally supported the validity of the CRF and the usefulness of the social influence model. Additionally, the client's initial "perception of helper expertness was the single most powerful predictor of counseling outcomes of those predictors studied" (LaCrosse, 1980, p. 395).

Expertness

A counselor's expertness, or the perception of a counselor as a valid source of assertion, can be affected by reputational cues, behavioral cues, and objective evidence (Strong, 1968). Expertness is one major component of a counselor's credibility, the other being trustworthiness (Hartley, 1969). In an attempt to begin providing empirical support for the definition of expertness, Schmidt and Strong (1970) conducted a study in which counselor behavior was videotaped and then rated by 37 male college students. In addition they asked the students to list characteristics which they believed to be expert or inexpert. The order of expertness on the ratings was nearly the reverse of the order of the counselor's actual level of training. Two factors seemed to characterize those behaviors rated expert: (a) greater responsiveness to the client and (b) logic of the questioning.

Strong and Schmidt (1970) then took the results of their earlier study and varied interviewer introduction and counselor performance with 49 college male subjects. Subjects were assessed for change in need for achievement. Those subjects treated to both "expert" conditions

changed their ratings significantly more than those subjects with "inexpert" introduction and behavior. Neither the introduction nor the behavior by themselves was significant. The introduction was either to a Ph.D or to a peer counselor. Expert behavior consisted of facial and behavioral responsiveness, alert posture, and hand gestures. Expert verbal behavior was structured and organized. Inexpert behavior was nonreactive, stiff and formal, confused, and lacked certainty.

Schwartz (1971) took another look at the inverse relationship reported by Schmidt and Strong (1970) between counselor experience and rated expertness. Using a least squares analysis he was able to demonstrate that expertness is not correlated in any simple way with experience, but rather the subjects apparently liked one counselor, disliked another, and thought the others were equal.

A later study by Dell and Schmidt (1976) helped clear up the issue. They showed videotapes of counselor interviews with 120 male and female undergraduates. The male and female counselors were at three levels of experience. All subjects rated their willingness to refer close friends to the counselors and gave their reasons. The researchers found that only individual counselor performance is related to perceived counselor expertness in the initial interview situation. Specific behavioral cues of expertness were identified including preparedness, gesticulation, use of client's first name, relaxed posture, and nonmonotonic voice. There were no sex differences in perceived expertness.

Several studies have identified a reputational component of expertness. Guttman and Haase (1972) randomly assigned first year

male college students to conditions of high and low induced expertness. Although the information recall of those under the expert condition was higher, the clients appeared to respond more favorably to the nonexpert in terms of expressing their feelings about the relationship's success. The authors concluded that their findings supported the earlier Schmidt and Strong (1970) study which showed an inverse relationship between experience and expertness. The Schwartz (1971) study plus the other research cited here indicates that information can reliably affect the counselor's perceived expertness as long as it is at least congruent with the counselor's behavior. Of the two variables, reputation versus behavior, it may very well be that behavior is the more influential variable.

An early study by Price and Iverson (1969) provided initial encouragement for believing in the effects of reputational cues of expertness. Tape recordings of initial interviews were heard by 120 students. The sessions were described as being done either by a "head counselor" or by a "trainee." Reflective or directive styles were not distinguished in the ratings. High commitment was the most significant variable for being rated capable. Those who were the "head counselors" and who conformed to role expectations made the most positive impressions.

Atkinson and Carskadden (1975) made use of a prestigious introduction and psychological jargon to identify their expert. Videotaped counselors were rated on their knowledge of psychology. Greater knowledge was attributed to the counselors' using jargon. The subjects were more willing to see those counselors with the prestigious introduction. Suggestions of counselor expertness also led to higher evaluations of counselors heard on audio tape.

Spiegel (1976) used four levels of similarity/expertness suggestions each of which was paired with an academic and a friendship problem. Although the manipulation of the similarity variable was too weak, the expertness was perceived as intended for both problem areas.

Scher (1975) planned his study of counselor experience and its effects on success in counseling in such a way that "having experience" was defined as having a Ph.D. Counselor experience was found to be a relevant variable in influencing outcome, while sex and verbal activity were not. Because of the way experience was defined, however, and because some of the non-Ph.D counselors had as much counseling experience as Ph.D counselors, Scher had to admit the possible role of reputation. He concluded "it may be something as obvious as the counselor's title of Doctor that is the important factor in the influence of experience on counseling" (Scher, 1975, p. 100).

The strength of pre-session information on the counselor's perceived competence is strongly supported by Scheid (1976). Counselors were introduced as high status, low status, or not given status at all. Male and female undergraduates viewed videotaped segments of one of two staged interviews. One type was arranged to be level three of the case conditions and the other type was level one (Carkhuff, 1969). The most impressive results of the study were that even when counselors were viewed in the nonfacilitative behavior, they were rated as competent, if they had a high status introduction.

External devices, accoutrements, and decor have been investigated for their effects on client perceptions of counselors. Bloom, Weigel, and Trautt (1977) investigated the effects of office decor and suggested counselor gender information on male and female undergraduates.

A "traditional" office was decorated with a file cabinet, professional texts and manuals, diplomas and certificates, and a desk situated between the client's and therapist's chair. The "humanistic" office contained a desk placed against a wall at the back of the room. Chairs were closer together. Modern posters were on the wall with philosophical sayings. The room also had a beanbag chair with several throw pillows. Sex pairing had no effect on the perception of credibility. There was, however, an interaction effect for decor and therapist gender on credibility. Female therapists in the "traditional" office and male therapists in the "humanistic" office were viewed as more credible, safer, and more dynamic. Environmental effects were significantly related to degree of perceived credibility.

Heppner and Pew (1977) used a 2 x 2 factorial design to evaluate the effects of objective evidence of competence and counselor sex on perceived expertness. Male and female counselors, with and without certificates and diplomas on display in their offices, interviewed undergraduate university students in 30-minute sessions. Counselor behavior was standardized by training. There was no interaction effect between counselor sex and treatment condition. Initial perception of counselor credibility was significantly enhanced by the presence of visual, objective evidence of competence such as diplomas, awards, and certificates.

In a pair of studies (Siegel & Sell, 1978; Siegel, 1980) objective evidence and nonverbal counselor behavior were manipulated to test their effect on the client's perception of counselor expertness. It was hypothesized that such perceptions could be made without overt introductory cues. The net result of both studies is that male and

female clients do not differ in their perception of expertness cues. Results led the authors to further conclude that the failure of therapists to display objective evidence of their status and professional standing and the failure to use specific nonverbal behavior may make the establishment of expertness more difficult. Examples of specific nonverbal expert behavior include smiles, eye contact, angle of shoulder orientation toward the client, and gestures. Both studies indicate that the nonverbal behavior is consistently more effective in determining the client's perception.

In a multifactor fixed effects design Heppner and Dixon (1978) attempted to extend the knowledge about counselor influence in an expert role to actual behavior beyond the interview. As they noted, most research prior to theirs had been limited to assessing expert influence on perceptions and attitudes. Ninety female undergraduates took part in the experiment with the overt purpose of discussing their level of problem solving skills. Subject self ratings following interview sessions were significantly more influenced by expert than by inexperienced counselors.

In analysis of past interview behavior, Heppner and Dixon discovered that interviewers playing the expert role were significantly more influential in getting students to seek problem-solving handouts than interviewers playing an inexperienced role ($p < .0001$). Very few subjects in any category, however, were influenced to attend a workshop. Need was not a significant variable in either measure. The results not only continue the support of the differential influence of expert versus inexperienced roles on perceptions and attitudes but provide some clues about measured influence on behavior. Students were

influenced to perform a behavior requiring a relatively minimal commitment but not a more significant behavior. It must be noted that even though the behavior influenced was a modest one, it was done following a short counseling analogue.

Two studies exist which suggest or imply an issue to be resolved about the origin of the perception of expertness. It is possible that just being a counselor or mental health professional may be sufficient to have some degree of expertness. In evaluating attitudes towards seeking professional help, Cash, Kehr, and Salzbach (1978) discovered that help seeking attitudes were significantly tied to perceptions of a counselor's expertise, trustworthiness, and genuineness. Although the subjects who reported more favorable attitudes were those who reported prior professional contact, the implication is that for some part of the prospective client population, expertness is an expected part of the counselor's role. This does confuse expert power and legitimate power.

Corrigan (1978) had over 200 undergraduate students rate the relative importance of expertness, attractiveness, and trustworthiness for a friend and a mental health professional. Results indicated that expertness was a salient characteristic for a mental health professional but not for a friend. The suggestion for the social influence model (Strong & Matross, 1973) is that client expectation of expertness may affect the perception of expertness at least in the initial stages of counseling.

Attractiveness

Festinger's (1957) hypothesis that people who are similar to us with regard to attitudes or opinions will serve as referents regarding that opinion is the basis for Strong's (1968) and the Strong and Matross (1973) concept of referent power base. Strong (1968) claimed that perceptions of a counselor's attractiveness would be based on "perceived similarity to, compatibility with, and liking for . . . " (p. 216) the counselor. As with expertness, the attractiveness dimension has been shown to possess behavioral and reputational cues.

In an early study in 1971 Schmidt and Strong designed an analog interview experiment in which college males were interviewed by psychology graduate students playing either attractive or unattractive roles. In the attractive role, the interviewer greeted the subject warmly, looked and smiled at the subject, and responded warmly throughout the interview. Shared experiences and attitudes were also disclosed by the counselor. The unattractive interviewers did not greet the client, did not smile, and revealed dissimilar experiences.

Subjects achievement motivation were assessed before, immediately after, and one week after the interview. In the interview the counselors had attempted to influence the subjects' self-ratings by telling them their score was two stanines higher than in reality on the preinterview measure. In spite of very strong feelings about the interviewers, the subjects were influenced equally in both cases. There was an apparent confounding of roles, however, in that both counselors were presented as experts. While not providing independent evidence of the role of attractiveness, the study did provide evidence of its relative importance.

The Schmidt and Strong (1971) results were hardly expected, particularly since Patton in 1969 had been able to show distinct differences in client responses to counselors to whom they were personally attracted. Client responses also appeared dependent upon congruence of expectations. Strong and Dixon (1971) studied the relationship between expertness and attractiveness hoping to unravel the confusion the earlier results generated for their model. Their study had two hypotheses. First, they wanted to check out if the two dimensions combined additively, and secondly they wanted to determine if expertness masked attractiveness.

Their results supported the second hypothesis and helped explain the results of the earlier Schmidt and Strong (1971) study. It appeared that expertness and attractiveness may combine additively to affect perceptions but not for influence. Expert interviewer's attractiveness will not affect their influence role. Inexpert interviewer's attractiveness will be affected only by attractiveness in terms of influence. The masking effect of expertness occurs only in the unattractive role. Over time it is possible that this mildly positive influential effect will deteriorate.

Murphy and Strong (1972) then went on to further help define the nature of referent power (attractiveness). They concentrated on studying the effect of the nature and frequency of self-disclosures on students' reactions in an interview. The number of disclosures ranged in even numbers from zero to eight in the 20-minute interview. The self-disclosing interviewers were seen as warm and friendly. Positive self-disclosures that were similar to students' experiences enhanced students' belief that they were being understood. Since the

self-disclosures were cued by an outside observer, some disclosures were made at inappropriate times. When this occurred, the students apparently noticed the nonsequiter and felt they were being tested for a new theory. Timing, therefore, is a critical function of self-disclosure to enhance interviewer influence.

Giannandrea and Murphy (1973) extended the Murphy and Strong (1972) research by investigating the effect of frequency and timing of self-disclosures on attitudes and behavior following an interview. College students were engaged in a 20-minute interview to discuss decision-making situations. Ten subjects were randomly assigned to each of five treatment conditions. Students received 0, 2, 4, 8, or 12 disclosures from the interviewer. Results indicated that an intermediate number of self-disclosures led to a significantly greater rate of return for a second interview. The number of disclosures differentially affects interviewee behavior. The use of a moderate number of self-disclosures was cited as an effective technique for establishing a good counselor/client relationship. The results were supported by the similar later research of Davis and Skinner (1974) and Mann and Murphy (1975).

In addition to similarity in levels of disclosure, similarity in content has been shown to be effective in influencing interpersonal attraction. Daher and Banikotes (1976) studied the effects of levels and content and their possible interaction. Subjects were 87 male undergraduates. On the basis of an inventory subjects were divided into high and low disclosers. Each group then responded to four bogus inventories which were manipulated for content and frequency of self-disclosure. The amount of disclosure and the similarity of the content

were shown to be significant in attracting the subjects. Interaction effects indicate that the amount of disclosure is attractive only when content is similar.

Content similarity as an important issue in attractiveness is also supported by early attitude change and influence studies. Berscheid (1966) conducted two experiments in which attractiveness was controlled and separated from the attempt at opinion change. In the first experiment freshmen were divided into two groups. One group was told the communicator held values similar to theirs in education, while the second group was told the communicator had similar values to theirs in international relations. The communicators then tried to influence each group on first, a topic that was relevant to the similarity and then, a topic that was not relevant to the similarity. Results supported the hypothesis that similarity of attitudes, uninfluenced by attractiveness, led a person who shared a relevant opinion to view the communicator as a referent for that opinion. When two share a similarity that is not relevant to the opinion being influenced, then the communicator does not serve as a referent.

The second experiment (Berscheid, 1966) provided further elaboration and support. In this experiment it was discovered that if people perceive that they have views on an issue that are dissimilar to the views of a communicator, some reverse effects are likely. If the opinion communicated is relevant to the shared dissimilarity, then the receiver's opinion is likely to move away from that of the communicator. Thus in this instance, the communicator acts as a negative referent. "When attractiveness is controlled, an important criterion for determining who will or will not constitute a referent

is often simply knowledge of whether or not the person possesses attributes relevant to the issue in question" (Berscheid, 1966, p. 679).

Nonverbal behavior also plays a role in the referent power base--a very strong role. Haase and Tepper (1972) used the counselors as subjects to explore the empathy perceived in a filmed counselor's behavior. Nonverbal measures including eye contact, body lean, and interpersonal distance interacted with each other and with verbal expressions to affect ratings of empathy. More significantly was the discovery that nonverbal effects accounted for twice the amount of variance accounted for by verbal expression.

LaCrosse (1975) drew heavily on the work of Mehrabian (1969, 1970a, 1970b, 1971) in studying nonverbal behavior and counselor attractiveness. Summarizing Mehrabian's work LaCrosse stated "In studies of affiliative and persuasive behavior, the nonverbal categories found to be important are communicator smiles, positive head nods, gesticulations, eye contact, angle of forward body lean, and angle of shoulder orientation" (p. 563). LaCrosse used all of the above-mentioned variables in his 1975 study. Eye contact was 80 percent, body lean, 20 percent, and shoulder orientation zero degrees for the affiliative behavior. For unaffiliative behavior eye contact was 40 percent, body lean was 20 percent reclining, and angle of shoulders was 30 degrees away. The camera lens served as the eye of the observer. The ratings by the male and female undergraduates supported the hypothesis about the attractiveness and persuasiveness of the affiliative nonverbal behavior.

Evidential cues such as attire and decor appear to be much more limited for attractiveness than they are for expertness. Stillman and Resnick (1972) devised a Counselor Attractiveness Rating Scale to determine the degree to which subjects found a counselor confederate attractive. Fifty male undergraduates saw either a "professionally" attired counselor who wore a sport coat and tie, or a "casually" attired counselor who was neat, but wore a sport shirt and slacks. In addition to the Attractiveness Rating scale, students also filled out a Disclosure scale. Analysis yielded no significant differences. Counselor attire had little effect on client disclosure and client perception of counselor attractiveness. Unfortunately, one of the terms used to define attractiveness in the study was "an expert who could help the subject and others if they were seeking help" (p. 347). This indicates a confounding of expert and attractive roles. The data of Bloom et al. (1977) showed the "traditional" role, as evidenced by decor, as being expert, not attractive.

Amira and Abramowitz (1979) noted the confusion in the literature on the function of attire and decor and investigated those variables with regard to therapeutic attraction. Male and female undergraduates viewed one of four five-minute videotapes in which attire and decor varied. A main effect for room formality was obtained for therapist competence. The only other significant finding was a dress formality by room formality interaction for favorable attitude toward the therapist. Further analyses revealed that subjects preferred a combination of formality and informality in the therapeutic setting. "Pure" combinations were not favored. The results tend to converge with the predominantly negative and mixed data (Bloom et al., 1977; Stillman &

Resnick, 1972). There is a consistent absence of main effects for professionalism of the therapeutic setting and for therapist attire.

Physical attractiveness was not directly included in Strong's (1968) description of his counseling model, but several studies have shown that physical attractiveness does have an effect on interpersonal influence, although a limited one. In 1975 Cash, Begley, McGown, and Weise had subjects first view a videotaped introduction by a counselor then listen to an audio tape of a session. The male counselor was either in a "physically attractive" or "physically unattractive" condition. Subjects' overall impressions significantly favored the "physically attractive" counselor and placed more confidence in that counselor's effectiveness.

Including female counselors and clients in their study Lewis and Walsh (1978) attempted to replicate and extend the Cash et al. (1975) findings. The counselors were ranked on 12 traits and 15 personal problems. The subjects perceived the counselors as intended; that is, there was a main effect for physical attractiveness. Further analyses revealed a shortcoming, however, in that the attractiveness manipulation was not successful for the male groups. A univariate analysis of the female groups was still carried out and yielded significant differences in perception. Female subjects perceived the attractive counselor as more competent, professional, interesting, relaxed, and assertive than the unattractive counselor.

In another attempt to replicate Cash et al. (1975), Carter (1978) used photographs of male and female counselors. She did not get significant differences between her attractive and unattractive conditions. She did not have a genuine unattractive condition. Her results led

her to speculate that Cash et al.'s (1975) results may be due more to the negative effects of the unattractive condition than to a positive effect for the attractive condition. Carter also reported an interaction between sex and attractiveness such that female counselors receive higher ratings on impression variables, particularly in the attractive condition.

In attempting to extend the knowledge of the effect of attractiveness beyond an introductory period, Cash and Kehr (1978) found results which supported Carter's (1978) speculation. Cash and Kehr used attractive, unattractive, and anonymous conditions in their study. Attractiveness effects were found on all dependent variables without regard to sex of counselor. There were no differences, however, between the attractive and anonymous conditions. They therefore concluded that "the comparisons of attractive and unattractive counselors with the physically anonymous control conditions revealed a debilitating influence of unattractiveness as opposed to a facilitative influence of attractiveness" (Cash & Kehr, 1978, p. 341). A more recent study by Cash and Salzbach (1978) provides some support that this bias towards the unattractive conditions can be ameliorated somewhat by a moderate number of self-disclosures. Behavior again appears to outweigh external cues in influence.

Expertness and Attractiveness

Several studies have included variables in such a manner so as to examine simultaneously the effects of expertness and attractiveness. Such studies have allowed the delineation of each dimension's cues to

be improved while others have allowed contrasts of the relative effectiveness of each dimension.

In an early study that previewed the comparison of the two dimensions, Greenberg (1969) randomly assigned 112 undergraduates to one of four treatment conditions. Each group listened to a 15-minute tape of a simulated therapy session. Prior to hearing the tape the therapist was described as being warm or cold, and experienced versus inexperienced. As discussed in earlier sections of this review, the labeling information can affect perceptions significantly. In this study subjects who were told the therapist was warm or inexperienced were more attracted to the therapist, more receptive to his influence, and evaluated him more positively. Subjects told the therapist was warm were more willing to meet with the therapist and were more influenced by his communications. This study incorporated early components of what later were more systematically defined as expert and referent power bases. The significant effects were all due to reputation attributed to the counselors.

Claiborn and Schmidt (1977) studied the effects of pre-session written information on the subjects' perceptions of counselor expertness, attractiveness, and powerfulness. Subjects viewed a videotape of a counseling interview in which the counselor attempted to influence the client to take some specific action. Significant results were obtained for higher ratings of expertness for the expert versus the referent power base and higher ratings on expertness for the low versus high status within the expert power base. The results for low status expert could have been the result of a uniquely described peer with some highly expert accomplishments.

Thus, both "high" and "low" status experts could in reality have been "high" status experts. No differences were found on perceived attractiveness. The authors concede that they may have described similarities which were appropriate to the taped counselor-client but not for the real subject. This failure to achieve the attractiveness results anticipated points out the subtlety of such manipulations. Fortunately the importance of nonverbal behavior in differential perception has helped researchers in other studies (LaCrosse, 1975).

The possibility that the type of satisfaction required by the client, the nature of the problem, might determine the relative effectiveness of an influence style led Tessler (1975) to look at the relationship of several types of variables. "Experienced" versus "inexperienced" introduction labels, similar versus dissimilar counselor-client values, and formality versus informality were all manipulated. Dependent measures were client problem-centered and relationship-centered satisfaction. Relationship-centered satisfaction was greater with value similarity which corresponds to the referent power base. Problem-centered satisfaction was greater with greater experience which corresponds to the expert power base.

Spiegel (1976) attempted a similar study in which she manipulated biographical sketches of counselors, presented a tape, then assessed reactions. In her study suggestions of expertness led to higher evaluations of counselors for both affiliative and academic problems. Although Spiegel did not note this reason in her discussion, the fact that she used merely the demographic variables of age and class as her criterion of similarity may serve as an explanation for no results differentiating similar versus dissimilar sketches.

An earlier study (Strong & Dixon, 1971), discussed in the section on attractiveness, concluded that expertness masks attractiveness, particularly in the unattractive roles. In another study Sell (1974) successfully induced conditions of attractiveness, but results observed were not attributed to that manipulation but rather to experimental demands. Sell claimed this further supported the masking effect.

A much more successful differentiation of expert and referent role was achieved by Kerr and Dell (1976). They varied interviewer role, setting, and attire with 80 undergraduates in an interview situation. Using CRF they determined that perceptions of attractiveness seemed to have exclusively been a function of behavior. For the expert role, attire interacted with behavior in determining perceived expertness. In every within-cell comparison the relative ratings of expertness and attractiveness were dependent on the interviewer's role.

Dell (1973) studied the effect of counselor characteristics and the generation of resistance using the Strong (1968) social influence model. He not only successfully manipulated expert and referent roles but managed to combine them in his experimental conditions such that incongruence or illegitimate influence attempts were made. He combined this novel approach with a measure of behavior outside the interview. Expert and referent power bases were perceived as intended. "Pure" expert and "pure" referent counselors were equally effective. Counselors with congruent roles induced more behavioral compliance than those with incongruent roles.

Dell (1973) suggests that the ability of the expert to have such influence so early in a relationship-building situation is contrary to

what one would expect from general counseling approaches (Truax & Carkhuff, 1967). He does suggest, however, that an expert's lack of attractiveness later in the relationship could erode the counselor's effectiveness.

Merluzzi, Merluzzi, and Kaul (1977) continued Dell's (1973) extension of works on the social influence model. They continued the emphasis on behavioral outcome but added an investigation into the counselor characteristic of race. They used expert and referent power bases with white and black counselors. The clients, all white, were assessed for perceptions, attitude change, behavior change, and cognitive retention. A significant race by role interaction was discovered. White subjects responded more favorably to black experts versus black referents. Taking into account the results of the Atkinson et al. (1978) study for the effect of expertness on race, one can infer particular approaches by particular race counselors might be more effective with a particular race client. But an inference is all that can be drawn, because in social influence literature, counselor race has been systematically varied only in the Merluzzi et al. (1977) study, and client race for that study was white.

One social influence study that did vary client race was done by McKay, Dowd, and Rollin (1982). They investigated the effect of client race on the perceptions of counselor social influence. Black and white subjects viewed videotapes of counselors trained in both high and low social influence roles. Black subjects and subjects of lower education rated the low influence counselor significantly higher on all measures of the Counselor Rating Form. The results suggested the importance of the client characteristic of race and the possibility

that white middle class values might be inherent in the counseling model. Unfortunately, counselor race was not varied and the ratings were of a videotape rather than of a counseling experience.

Recent reviews of social influence in counseling have aptly described its limitations and its potential. Corrigan, Dell, Lewis, and Schmidt (1980) note that most studies have used only one interview, have concentrated on attitude change primarily, and therefore counselor influence is difficult to generalize. Perceived expertness and trustworthiness appear to be legitimate aspects of counselor power. The role of attractiveness, at least for white clients, may come more into play beyond the first session.

Blocher (1980) sees the work of Strong (1968) and later Johnson and Matross (1975) as being part of a process of building a more active empirical investigation of the counseling process. He believes it will lead to a more systematic application of models to particular settings, problems, and populations.

Heppner and Dixon (1981) summarized what is known about the events affecting counselor power. They cited objective evidence, counselor behavior, and prestigious cues as sources of counselor expert power. Several responsive nonverbal behaviors and self-disclosures were consistently associated with counselor attractiveness. They note that although race as a counselor characteristic has been investigated, such research involving the interpersonal influence process has produced mixed results. They did not address the lack of a systematic exploration of the client characteristic of race.

Summary

Investigation of the literature dealing with the black client reveals a collection of ideas, propositions, and theories that are largely in essay form. Empirical research is either lacking or has provided conflicting information in many respects. Yet there are some general conclusions which can be drawn from the available literature. The majority of the research indicates that black clients not only prefer to work with black counselors but apparently are more satisfied with them. Racial differences by themselves do not explain the mixed results in outcome research. Interactions appear to be present. Finally, there are some indications that different counseling approaches or models may be key components in the interaction process.

The social influence model (Strong, 1968) has a decade of research behind it defining specific behaviors and manipulations that can readily be applied in an empirical setting. A counselor's expertness can be defined by reputation, behavior, and objective evidence. This expertness role has been repeatedly shown to be effective in influencing others. A counselor's attractiveness, or referent power base, has also been defined by reputation and behavior. In their "pure" forms both expertness and attractiveness appear to be equally effective with white clients.

Counselor race has been systematically varied in only one study in this area resulting in a significant race by role interaction for white clients. All that is lacking is the application of a similar

study to an exploration of race by role interactions with the black client. With the identification of specific behaviors for each role, their relative effectiveness with the black client can be assessed.

CHAPTER THREE METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was to assess the effects of black and white counselors' expert and referent power bases on the perceptions, attitudes, and behavior of black and white clients. A secondary purpose was to further the development of the Strong (1968) and Strong and Matross (1973) social influence model of the counseling process. It may very well be that expert and referent power bases may interact with the race of the client and be differentially effective as a result of the client's race. This chapter contains the methodology that was used in the study. The research design, rationale for the design, hypotheses, subjects, instrumentation, treatment, procedures, data analyses, methodological assumptions, and limitations are described in this chapter.

Research Design

A factorial design with volunteer client subjects from each race, random assignment to groups by race, and random assignment to treatment was used. All measures were posttest. The four treatment groups were compared with a control group. The nature of the study lent itself to a factorial design which allowed multiple comparisons and analyses of possible interactions.

The three independent variables were counselor race, counselor role, and client race. Treatment cells consisted of counselor race

and counselor role combinations. There were three dependent variables. The subjects' perceptions of the counselors were the first dependent variable and were measured by the Counselor Rating Form (Barak & LaCrosse, 1975). The second dependent variable was subject's attitude toward problem solving. This was measured by an attitude scale developed by Carey (1958). The third dependent variable was a behavioral measure of the strength of the therapist's influence on the client. This measure is similar to the procedure used in the Merluzzi et al. (1977) study. The third dependent variable was a frequency count of those subjects who return a mailed questionnaire within a prescribed time limit.

Rationale for Design

Although analogue research has been severely criticized as being not generalizable at all (Goldman, 1977), it has been supported as an analytic method of investigating questions that might be impractical to evaluate in clinical situations (Kazdin, 1978). The nature of analogue research itself is becoming a subject of research, and Helms (1978) reported results that were surprisingly similar between an analogue study and naturalistic research.

The very nature of analogue research contains both its strengths and its weaknesses. It gives the experimenter control over the independent variables and subject assignment, thus enhancing internal validity. On the other hand, analogue research threatens external validity because of the artificiality that control produces.

According to Kazdin (1978), all treatment research is an analogue of a clinical situation. Johnson and Matross (1977) defend experimental

counseling research strongly by writing, "internal validity is the more important, for if the experimental effect does not occur, there is no need to worry about its generality" (Johnson & Matross, 1977, p. 425). They further state, "External validity of research studies is always an empirical question which may be answered only by systematic replications of an experiment in a variety of settings with procedures which adequately operationalize the conceptual variables in each setting" (Johnson & Matross, 1977, p. 425). This study attempted a systematic replication and extension of Merluzzi et al. (1977) based on roles delineated in Dell (1973).

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were tested in this study:

1. There were no differences among black and white clients' perceptions of counselors.
2. There were no differences among black and white clients' attitudes towards problem solving.
3. There were no differences among black and white clients in being influenced to return a questionnaire.
4. There was no interaction among the independent variables.

Subjects

Subjects for this study were undergraduate students registered for the Spring 1982 semester at the University of Florida in Gainesville,

Florida. Gainesville is located in North Central Florida with a city population of 83,000 and an urban area population of 118,000. The University of Florida is the largest state supported institution of higher learning in Florida and has a total student body of approximately 31,000.

In order to obtain the desired number of subjects for the study, an offer of career counseling was made in several ways. In the first offering the registrar's office provided separate alphabetized lists of black and white undergraduate students and their addresses. All students were assigned a number from one to the nth individual. Using a table of random numbers, 250 students were randomly selected from each list. These individuals were mailed an announcement (see Appendix J) offering a limited number of students an opportunity for an interview with a counselor, if they were interested in discussing problems of problem solving and career planning (Merluzzi et al., 1977; Dell, 1973). The announcement noted that while all participants would not receive an interview, all would receive an information and referral packet. The interview and packet were described as part of a study in problem solving and career planning. If interested, students would then phone the experimenter. Students were asked if they had ever been to the Career Resource Center. If the students said "yes," they were thanked for responding but were not included in the study. This method resulted in only 10 subjects, 5 black and 5 white.

The same information as contained in the mailed announcement was presented in several different university settings. It was posted on the psychology department experimental sign-up board. Psychology

students are required to participate in a minimum number of studies. This added 26 more subjects, 25 white and 1 black. Oral presentations of the announcement notice were made at the following settings resulting in the participation of the indicated number of subjects: a vocational exploration class--10 white students; the Black Student Union--11 black students; a black fraternity--8 black students; a black sorority--10 black students; the athletic study hall--5 black students.

Once a minimum n for each group (40 blacks and 40 whites) was obtained, the separate racial groups were randomly assigned to groups of 8 and then randomly assigned to one of five treatment conditions. The groups were as follows:

TABLE 1
Treatment Conditions

	Black Counselor Expert Role	Black Counselor Referent Role	White Counselor Expert Role	White Counselor Referent Role	Control
Black Subjects	8	8	8	8	8
White Subjects	8	8	8	8	8

Students did not know whether they had an interview scheduled or an information and referral packet until they arrived.

Instrumentation

The Counselor Rating Form

The Counselor Rating Form (CRF) (Barak & LaCrosse, 1975) was developed to measure the dimensions of expertness, attractiveness, and

trustworthiness. These were the key dimensions in Strong's (1968) social influence counseling model. This was systematically defined by Strong and Schmidt (1970), Strong and Dixon (1971), and Kaul and Schmidt (1971). The CRF, modified by LaCrosse and Barak (1976), consists of 36 bipolar seven-point scales. From an original list of 83 adjectives suggested by communication research, four judges selected and assigned 36 to appropriate influence dimensions. All judges agreed on 22 of the assignments, while three judges agreed on the remaining 14. Students then rated filmed interviews using the new scale. Across the ratings of three different counselors the dimensions of expertness, attractiveness, and trust appeared to be distinct from each other. Attempts to extract another factor produced meaningless results. Each of the three dimensions is measured by 12 items. The range of scores is from 12 to 84.

The CRF can discriminate between and within counselors on the three dimensions (Barak & Dell, 1977; LaCrosse, 1977; Kerr & Dell, 1976; LaCrosse & Barak, 1976). The CRF (see Appendix A) also has very high intercorrelations with the more established Barrett Relationship Inventory (Barrett-Lennard, 1962) for both client and observer ratings. The predictive validity of the CRF was tested (LaCrosse, 1980) with strong indications of a positive relationship between measured perceptions and outcome. LaCrosse and Barak (1976) report split half reliabilities of .87, .85, and .90 for expertness, attractiveness, and trustworthiness, respectively.

Problem Solving Attitude Scale

The problem solving attitude scale (see Appendix B) is an 18 item Likert type scale that was developed by Carey in 1958. She was interested in investigating the differences between men and women in problem solving ability and hypothesized that the difference in problem solving performance was actually a reflection of a difference in attitude toward problem solving. According to Carey, an attitude is liking or not liking to solve problems or "to the valence which problem solving has for the individual" (p. 256). Originally she and a group of researchers selected 63 items which they believed were related to problem solving. She then conducted an item analysis using 32 males and 100 females from introductory psychology classes at Stanford University. From the original items the investigators were able to select 36 which differentiated between high and low scores at the .05 level or better. The 36 items were then split up on the basis of content to form two tests, Form A and Form B. Many of the items refer directly to an interest in or frequency of problem-solving activity. These were the most highly differentiating items in the analysis.

The instrument appears to be relatively reliable. Intercorrelation of the two forms on the first sample was .94. With a second sample of 59 men and 50 women equivalent forms reliability was reported as .83. The functional characteristics of the test were successfully assessed upon a third sample of 48 women and 48 men also from Stanford University. The only estimates lacking are those for test-retest reliability.

According to Shaw and Wright (1967) the instrument is average or above average in validity. "Some internal evidence of validity was

provided by the fact that items that referred directly to interest in or frequency of problem solving activity were among the most highly differentiating items in the items analysis" (Carey, 1958, p. 257). Evidence for predictive validity also exists. Carey's results (1958) showed a positive relationship between performance scores and scores on her attitude scale. Further results reported by Carey are that men were found to have significantly higher scores than women and that women showed a change to a more positive attitude after an influence attempt.

Scoring for the scale can range from 18 to 90 with the high score being the most favorable. Individual items are scored from 1 (strongly disagree or almost never) to 5 (strongly agree or almost always). Weightings for negative items are reversed. High scores indicate a positive attitude toward problem solving while low scores indicate a negative attitude.

Behavioral Measure

The behavioral measure was a duplication of the approach used by Merluzzi et al. (1977). It was an indirect assessment of therapist influence, since no specific suggestion was made that it be accomplished. The behavioral measure consisted of an accounting of those individuals who returned a follow-up questionnaire within two weeks of its mailing. This follow-up questionnaire consisted of the alternate form of the problem solving attitude scale and open-ended questions allowing student feedback.

Treatment

Subjects were randomly assigned to one of five possible conditions: 1) Black expert counselor, 2) White expert counselor, 3) Black referent counselor, 4) White referent counselor, or 5) Control group. Interview roles were patterned after the portrayal of the expert and referent power base roles used by Merluzzi et al. (1977) and Dell (1973). Dell (1973) designed the format for the role portrayal based upon the definitions of the expert and attractive power bases in Schmidt and Strong (1971) and Strong and Schmidt (1970). Additional material for the role portrayed came from the work of Strong and Matross (1973) on the impelling forces of counselor power. Both the expert and referent roles provided evidential, reputational, and behavioral cues to the subjects (Corrigan et al., 1980).

Interview Roles

The expert interviewer was described to the subject as Ms. _____, who is in a counseling doctoral program at the University of Florida. She was described as being aware of a lot of recent research in career counseling and decision making. Following Dell's (1973) expert role development, the expert interviewer did not rise from her chair but directed the subject to the seat.

The expert's opening remarks structured the sequence of events to follow. This summary structured the roles of the client and the interviewer. Items addressed included expert questioning, student responses, expert commentary and literature citation, expert suggestions and description of problem-solving strategy, and finally a recommendation and referral to the Career Resource Center.

All expert questioning was explicit and came from a formal protocol. Any comments made by the expert were solely in regard to other students she had counseled or to research. No comments were made citing any similarity between the counselor and the subject nor was disclosure of personal experiences made. A minimum of four references were made by the counselor to establish their "expertness."

The expert was attentive and professionally interested in the subject. Eye contact was maintained, and the counselor was responsive to the subject's behavior. Hand gestures were used to emphasize critical points. The expert performed with an air of confidence in her ability. Expert attire was not casual; a pants suit or dress were worn (Kerr & Dell, 1976).

The referent interviewer was introduced as a graduate student counselor who has had to deal with career planning problems herself and who was now interested in helping others with similar concerns. The referent interviewers attempted to convey an open friendly attitude and liking for the client. She greeted the client at the door, used her first name, and made comments to put the client at ease.

The referent counselor was verbally responsive to the client throughout the interview and made use of reflective statements to demonstrate understanding. No written protocol was used for the interview. Four self-disclosures were made by the counselor to stress similarity of attitude and experience with the client (Merluzzi et al., 1977). No reference was made to the counselor's previous counseling experiences or psychological knowledge.

Interviewers and Interviewer Training

The interviewers for this study were two white female and two black female graduate students in the Counseling Psychology Program at the University of Florida. The interviewers were paid at the rate of five dollars per hour of training and counseling. Each interviewer worked with 16 subjects. Training consisted of three phases. In the first phase all interviewers were brought together at the Counseling Laboratory. Each interviewer was provided with general instructions (see Appendix C), a written description of the appropriate counseling role (see Appendices D and E), plus a copy of the problem solving strategy (see Appendix F) to be given to all students. Expert interviewers additionally received a copy of a protocol (see Appendix G) to follow in interviewing the students, plus a special version of the problem solving strategy (see Appendix H). This special version contained research references and results. In this first phase all interviewers studied their procedures and were given the opportunity to clarify their understanding of their roles.

In the second phase of training expert interviewers were trained separately from referent interviewers. The second phase activities consisted of modeling and rehearsal. Interviewers viewed an enactment of their role as portrayed by the experimenter. Respective roles were then rehearsed for two hours.

The third phase consisted of evaluation of role standards. Each interviewer was videotaped and judged by a three-member panel of advanced counseling psychology students using the Counselor Rating Form. The expert interviewers did not see subjects until their

expertness rating was significantly above their attractiveness rating for all three judges. The referent interviewers did not see subjects until their attractiveness rating was significantly above their expertness rating for all three judges ($p < .10$). Results of this judging are in Table 2. To ensure some measure of control over the way the roles were actually enacted with the subjects, a random selection of eight interviews (10 percent) were videotaped and rated by the panel of three advanced graduate students.

TABLE 2
Counselor Expertness-Attractiveness Rating--Preexperiment

Treatment	Mean	T	PR > T
White Referent	-15.67	-7.73	.02
White Expert	20.34	6.86	.02
Black Expert	22	9.53	.01
Black Referent	-22	-3.99	.06

Procedures

All subjects had specific appointment times for their interviews in the Counseling Laboratory of the Counselor Education Department. Interviews were scheduled to last 20 to 25 minutes with a 5-10 minute break between sessions. Thus, one interview was completed every 30 minutes. The career development laboratory room was used as a reception area. Subjects were greeted by a receptionist who gave them informed consent forms to be signed (see Appendix I).

Treatment subjects were then brought to one of two treatment rooms reserved for the experiment. En route to the interview room, the receptionist gave each subject a short description of the interviewer. The description was appropriate to the interviewer's role, expert or referent, and was given to enhance the effectiveness of that role. Control subjects were given their information and referral packets and given 10 minutes to read them.

All interviews lasted 20 to 25 minutes. During the last 10 minutes of the interview, an influence attempt was made that was consistent with the respective roles. The interviewer introduced a problem-solving strategy and applied it to the specific situation being discussed. The problem-solving strategy used the five stages identified by D'zurilla and Goldfield (1971) and extended by Heppner (1978). This same information was contained in the handout given to the control subjects upon arrival and to interviewees after testing. Finally, a suggestion was made at the end of the interview that the subject visit the Career Resource Center very soon. A referral card was given to each student. The suggestion was incorporated as part of the problem-solving task.

Immediately after the interview, subjects completed the attitude scale and the Counselor Rating Form. The control subjects completed the attitude scale but not the Counselor Rating Form. All participants received information and referral packets after this testing. Each individual had a referral slip to turn in to the receptionist at the Career Resource Center.

At the Career Resource Center, the students were given the opportunity to sign up for minicourses in 1) center services,

2) cooperative education, 3) job hunting tactics, and 4) career planning. Center services also include 1) a career information library with a special section for minority students, 2) audio-visual resources, 3) a computer aided decision-making activity, 4) job interview sign-up lists, and 5) personal vocation counseling.

Seven days after each individual's interview, the follow-up questionnaire was mailed out. Each mailing contained Form B of the problem-solving attitude scale (Carey, 1958), several open-ended questions, a cover letter, and a stamped self-addressed envelope. Subjects had two weeks to return the questionnaire. Those returned after two weeks did not meet the behavioral criteria for the variable.

Data Analysis

In order to assess the effects of expert and referent power bases on client perceptions, a three-factor analysis of variance was used as depicted in Table 3. In order to take into account the counselor and client race variables, a three-factor analysis of variance was conducted on perceptions of expertness and then on perceptions of attractiveness. This procedure allowed the determination that the roles were differentially perceived. It also allowed the study of the separate and combined effects of counselor role, counselor race, and client race on perceptions.

In order to assess the effect of treatment (counselor race x role or control), client race, or interactions on client attitudes, a two-factor analysis of variance design was used. This allowed the incorporation of data from the control groups (Table 4).

TABLE 3
Three Factor Analysis

		Counselor Race <u>A</u>	
Counselor Role <u>B</u>	Expert Role B ₁	White A ₁	Black A ₂
		White C ₁ A ₁ B ₁ C ₁ Clients	A ₂ B ₁ C ₁
		Black C ₂ A ₁ B ₁ C ₂ Clients	A ₂ B ₁ C ₂
	Referent Role B ₂	White C ₁ A ₁ B ₂ C ₁ Clients	A ₂ B ₂ C ₁
Black C ₂ A ₁ B ₂ C ₂ Clients		A ₂ B ₂ C ₂	

TABLE 4
Treatment x Client Race

Treatment		Black Expert	Black Referent	White Expert	White Referent	Control
Client Race	Black Client	8	8	8	8	8
	White Client	8	8	8	8	8

to gain a more detailed understanding of the nature of the interactions, a more refined analysis was possible by taking the additional step of dropping control groups and performing a three-factor analysis of variance as depicted in Table 3. The Tukey multiple comparison procedure was used for all anovas in order to make all possible pairwise comparisons. A multiple comparison error rate of .05 was used to provide a 95 percent simultaneous confidence interval.

The response to the behavioral measure was a dichotomous variable which did not lend itself to analysis of various procedures. In the past decade, however, statistical theory has led to advances in the analysis of multidimensional cross classified categorical data that are analogous to analysis of variance procedures. These loglinear models as described in Bishop et al. (1975), Reynolds (1977), and Fienberg (1977) are able to "describe the structured relationship among the variable corresponding to the dimensions of the table" (Fienberg, 1977, p. 3). Interaction is defined as being based on the cross product ratios of expected cell values. "The models are linear in the logarithms of the expected value scale" (Fienberg, 1977, p. 3). From this is derived the term loglinear. The coefficients of loglinear models are based on maximum likelihood estimation.

In order to assess the affects of counselor role, counselor race, and client race on return of the follow-up questionnaire, a loglinear analysis was used. The loglinear analysis made use of a 2 x 5 table as depicted in Table 4. The analysis made use of the χ^2 statistic. The results were a rank order of counselor race x role treatment conditions according to client race, determination at the .05 level of difference, and an assessment of possible interactions.

Methodological Assumptions

Use of the F ratio assumes independent random samples, normal population distribution, and equal population variances. Moderate departures from normality of populations can be tolerated. In the case where sample sizes are equal, the F test is robust to violations of the assumption of equal variances.

The χ^2 statistic can be used only with frequency data composed of independent measures. The χ^2 tests are approximate in the sense that the true sample distribution of the χ^2 statistic approaches the χ^2 distribution as n increases (Agresti & Agresti, 1979). The tests should not be used if several of the f_e 's are close to zero. When f_e sets close to zero, the statistic tends to blow up. If these conditions are not met, there are analogs of Fisher's exact test for the $r \times c$ table (Agresti & Wackerly, 1977).

Limitations

One dimension which posed a particular limitation for this study was the population. Taken together, the target problems of problem solving and career planning were highly relevant areas of counseling for a university client population. Results of this study would not necessarily be appropriate for a nonuniversity population. A second limitation was that the sample used in the study was not selected randomly and is not truly representative of the university as a whole. The sample is, however, more nearly representative of those students likely to take advantage of career oriented counseling as offered by a university agency. A third limitation was that only female counselors were used. Further research will be needed to assess the applicability of findings for male counselors. The fourth and fifth

limitations were the duration of the interview and its one-time occurrence. These two dimensions were at the heart of the analogue question. Effects attributed to treatment during such a short session would be most appropriately generalizable to the early stages of a counseling relationship or to a one-visit session.

CHAPTER FOUR RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to assess the effects of black and white counselors' expert and referent power bases on the perceptions, attitudes, and behavior of black and white clients. The results of the data analyses for the four hypotheses are presented in this chapter, followed by a discussion of the results.

Results

Hypothesis One

The first hypothesis was that there would be no differences among black and white clients' perceptions of counselors. A three factor analysis of variance was conducted, first on client perceptions of expertness, and then on client perceptions of attractiveness. A 3x2 ANOVA procedure was used to allow the study of the separate and combined effects of counselor role, counselor race, and client race on perceptions.

In the analysis of the expert means a significant main effect was found for the race of the subject. Table 5 presents the results of the analysis of variance for the dependent variable of expertness. The p value for race was significant at the .05 level. There were no other significant effects or interactions. This result means that the black clients in this study perceived the counselors in general to be

TABLE 5
ANOVA of Counselor Race by Role and Client Race
for Expert Variable

Source	df	MS	F
CRACE	1	4.52	.06
ROLE	1	0.02	0.00
CRACE*ROLE	1	97.52	1.28
RACE	1	328.52	4.30*
CRACE*RACE	1	92.61	1.21
ROLE*RACE	1	83.27	1.09
CRACE*ROLE*RACE	1	5.65	.07
ERROR	56	76.43	

*p < .05.

more expert than the white clients perceived them. Therefore, the first hypothesis was rejected for the variable expertness.

In testing the first hypothesis a three factor analysis of variance was also conducted on the clients' perception of counselor attractiveness. The results depicted in Table 6 indicate a significant main effect for role. The p value for role was significant at the .05 level. This result means that all clients perceived the referent counselors as being significantly more attractive than the expert counselors. The hypothesis that no differences existed among black and white clients' perceptions of attractiveness was not rejected.

TABLE 6
ANOVA of Counselor Race by Role and Client Race
for Attractiveness Variable

Source	df	MS	F
CRACE	1	13.14	0.19
ROLE	1	425.39	6.21*
CRACE*ROLE	1	0.39	0.01
RACE	1	19.14	0.28
CRACE*RACE	1	192.52	2.81
ROLE*RACE	1	206.64	3.02
CRACE*ROLE*RACE	1	1.26	0.02
ERROR	56	68.52	

*p < .05.

Further analyses were made of the data generated for the first hypothesis. Means and standard deviations for counseling variables by client race are contained in Table 7. Means and standard deviations for counseling variables by counselor role are contained in Table 8. Tukey's studentized range test was used in the further analysis of both the expertness and attractiveness variables. The test provided rank orders of counselor race x role treatment conditions for all groups according to client race. The rank order for expertness means is in Table 9. There were no significant differences. The rank order for attractiveness means is in Table 10.

The results in Table 10 indicate that there was a significant difference at the .05 level in the perception of attractiveness by

TABLE 7
Means and Standard Deviations for Counseling Variables
by Client Race

	Race--White		Race--Black	
	\bar{X}	SD	\bar{X}	SD
Expertness	70.25	10.49	74.78	6.09
Attractiveness	72.75	10.29	73.84	6.71

TABLE 8
Means and Standard Deviations for Counseling Variables
by Counselor Role

	Role--Expert		Role--Attractive	
	\bar{X}	SD	\bar{X}	SD
Expertness	72.53	9.26	72.52	8.48
Attractiveness	70.72	9.46	75.88	6.94

TABLE 9
Rank Order of Means of Perceived Expertness by Race
and Treatment Condition

Race--White		Race--Black	
Treatment	\bar{X}	Treatment	\bar{X}
Black Referent	71.38	Black Referent	76.625
White Referent	71.38	White Referent	76.000
White Expert	71.00	Black Expert	75.875
Black Expert	67.25	White Referent	70.625

TABLE 10
Rank Order of Means of Perceived Attractiveness
by Race and Treatment Condition

Race--White		Race--Black	
Treatment	\bar{X}	Treatment	\bar{X}
White Referent	79.38*	Black Referent	76.125
Black Referent	74.88	Black Expert	74.125
White Expert	70.50	White Referent	73.125
Black Expert	66.25*	White Expert	72.000

*p < .05.

white clients. This means that white clients perceived white referent counselors to be significantly more attractive than black expert counselors.

Hypothesis Two

The second hypothesis was that there would be no differences among black and white clients' attitudes towards problem solving. It was desirable to be able to compare client attitudes towards problem solving in all treatment conditions. Each treatment condition consisted of either a control group or a counselor's race and role. A two factor ANOVA assessed the effect of treatment and client race on problem solving attitude. The data presented in Table 11 show a strong effect for client race that is significant at the .01 level. There was no significant effect for treatment and no interaction between treatment and client race. The net result was that black clients had a significantly more positive attitude toward problem solving than the white clients. The second hypothesis was therefore rejected.

TABLE 11
ANOVA of Treatment by Race for Problem Solving
Attitude Variable

	df	MS	F
Treatment	4	28.58	0.36
Race	1	696.20	8.84*
Treatment*Race	4	105.20	1.34
ERROR		78.75	

*p < .01.

For further analyses the control groups were dropped and a three factor ANOVA was conducted. Again the only significant factor was a main effect for client race at the .01 level. These data are in Table 12. Table 13 contains the means and standard deviations for the black and white problem solving attitude scores.

From the 2x5 ANOVA design which includes all treatment and control conditions by client race, a Tukey multiple range test was conducted. This yielded a rank order of counselor race and role conditions for each race of client which is depicted in Table 14. The results show that when each client race group was considered separately, there was no significant difference in problem solving attitude between any two treatment levels.

Hypothesis Three

The third hypothesis was that there would be no differences among black and white clients in being influenced to return a

TABLE 12
ANOVA of Counselor Race by Role and Client Race
for Problem Solving Attitude Variable

	df	MS	F
CRACE	1	0.76	0.01
ROLE	1	28.89	0.33
CRACE*ROLE	1	83.26	0.96
RACE	1	708.89	8.14**
CRACE*RACE	1	199.52	2.29
ROLE*RACE	1	141.01	1.62
CRACE*ROLE*RACE	1	34.52	0.40
ERROR		87.09	

**p < .01.

TABLE 13
Means and Standard Deviations for Problem Solving
Attitudes by Client Race

Race--White		Race--Black	
\bar{X}	SD	\bar{X}	SD
53.53	9.33	60.19	9.28

TABLE 14
Rank Order of Means of Problem Solving Attitude
by Race and Treatment Condition

Race--White		Race--Black	
Treatment	\bar{X}	Treatment	\bar{X}
Black Referent	57.75	White Expert	64.75
Control	55.75	Black Referent	59.38
White Referent	53.63	White Referent	59.38
Black Expert	52.63	Control	58.62
White Expert	50.12	Black Expert	57.25

questionnaire. A loglinear analysis of the 2 x 5 tables using the chi-square statistic was conducted. Results are depicted in Table 15. Neither treatment, nor race, nor an interaction of the two was significant. This means that no difference could be claimed for black and white clients in being influenced to return a questionnaire. It

TABLE 15
Loglinear Analysis of Treatment by Client Race
for Return of Questionnaire

Source	df	Chi-Square	Probability
Treatment	4	1.65	.80
Race	1	3.52	.06
Treatment*Race	4	4.80	.31

also means that neither client race nor treatment (counselor race and role) influenced the rate of questionnaire return. The third hypothesis was not rejected. It was noted that the client race factor did approach significance. Response frequencies by treatment are in Table 16. Table 17 contains the treatment rank order by race.

Hypothesis Four

The fourth hypothesis was that there would be no interaction among the independent variables. The independent variables were counselor race, client race, and counselor role. The dependent variables were client perception of the counselor, client attitude toward problem solving, and client return of a mailed questionnaire within a time limit.

Possible interactions among the independent variables were assessed at each step of the process of testing the first three hypotheses. Tables 5 and 6 contain results of three-factor ANOVA's of client perceptions of expertness and attractiveness, respectively. No significant interactions were found with any independent variables. Table 11 contains results of a two-factor ANOVA of treatment by race for problem solving attitude. No interaction was noted. A three-factor ANOVA was also conducted for the problem solving attitude variable. Results in Table 12 show no significant interactions. Finally, the loglinear analysis results for the return of the questionnaire, which are in Table 15, show no interaction.

No interaction effects were noted as significant in any of the analyses. Therefore, the hypothesis of no interaction among independent variables was not rejected. This means that no

TABLE 16
Questionnaire Response Frequencies by
Treatment and Race

Treatment	Race--White	Race--Black	Total
Control	4	6	10
White Referent	6	5	11
Black Referent	5	5	10
White Expert	2	6	8
Black Expert	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>11</u>
TOTAL	21	29	50

TABLE 17
Rank Order of Questionnaire Return
by Treatment and Race

Race--White		Race--Black	
Treatment	Frequency	Treatment	Frequency
White Referent	6	Black Expert	7
Black Referent	5	White Expert	6
Black Expert	4	Control	6
Control	4	Black Referent	5
White Expert	2	White Referent	5

interaction between or among counselor race, counselor role, or client race could be claimed as a factor in influencing client perception of expertness or attractiveness, attitude toward problem solving, or return of the questionnaire.

Quality Control

A procedure was instituted to monitor the actual enactment of the counselor roles during the study. A random selection of two interviews for each of the four counselors was videotaped. Interviewers and clients never knew which sessions were being videotaped. Each videotaped interview was rated by the same panel of intern level doctoral counseling students using the Counselor Rating Form (Barak & LaCrosse, 1975). For an expert interviewer to be considered significantly within her designated role, she would have to be perceived by the judges as significantly more expert than attractive. For a referent interviewer to be considered significantly within her designated role, she would have to be perceived by the judges as significantly more attractive than expert. The criterion for significance was a p value of .10.

T-test results for each treatment condition are shown in Table 18. The white referent counselor was judged significantly more attractive than expert on her first tape. There was no significant difference on her second tape. The white expert counselor was significantly more expert than attractive on her first tape, but there was no significant difference on her second tape. The black expert counselor was significantly more expert than attractive on both of her tapes. The black referent counselor was not significantly more

TABLE 18
T-Test Results on Role Maintenance by Counselors

Treatment	Tape #	T	PR > T
White Referent	1	7.95	.02*
White Referent	2	1.79	.22
Black Referent	1	2.56	.12
Black Referent	2	2.29	.15
White Expert	1	-4.62	.04*
White Expert	2	-1.38	.30
Black Expert	1	-6.55	.02*
Black Expert	2	-4.99	.04*

*p > .05.

attractive on either of her tapes. Although the results consistently show an attractiveness-expertness difference in the desired direction for every tape, they also suggest a lack of consistency in the degree to which the roles were enacted.

Summary

The first analysis dealt with the separate and combined effects of counselor role, counselor race, and client race on client perceptions. Results were different from what was expected in the case of perceived expertness. Counselor roles were experimentally manipulated to be either expert or referent, yet in the analysis of the expert scores there was no main effect for role. There was, however, a main

effect for race. Black clients perceived the counselors in general to be more expert than the white clients perceived them. There was no racial difference between the clients in their perception of the counselor's attractiveness. All clients perceived the referent counselors as being significantly more attractive than the expert counselors. In this case there was a main effect for role. A within race analysis for clients indicated that for white clients, white referent counselors were significantly more attractive than black expert counselors.

Significant results also led to the rejection of the second hypothesis. A significant main effect for client race was again noted, this time in regards to attitude toward problem solving. Black clients had a significantly more positive attitude toward problem solving than white students. Testing of differences in the rate of return of a questionnaire yielded no significant results. Finally, an assessment of interaction influence on any of the dependent variables yielded no significant results.

Discussion

As has been described in the preceding chapter, counselors were trained to use specific behaviors and attire which research has shown delineates either the expert or referent role, respectively. Different specific introductions were also used for each role. It was therefore expected that regardless of other possible results, the counselor's role would be a significant factor in the client's perception of the counselor's expertness or attractiveness. Results indicate that the expert counselor role, as defined by introduction,

attire, and behavior, had no effect on client perception of counselor expertness. This is contrary to all expectations derived from the results of extensive early research as reviewed by Corrigan et al. (1980). On the other hand, the referent counselor role was a significant factor in the client perception of counselor attractiveness.

The results raise the question of whether there was successful incorporation of expert and referent role criteria in the training and/or performance of the counselors. Results located in Table 2, Chapter Three, indicate that all intern judges rated both expert counselors as significantly more expert than attractive on their training tapes. Results from Table 18 indicate the intern judges rated the white expert counselor as more expert than attractive on one of two quality control tapes. The intern judges rated the black expert counselor as more expert than attractive on both quality control tapes. The data from videotaped sessions indicate that the expert criteria were incorporated in training but not necessarily consistently in practice.

The data on referent training and practice are even more illuminating. Both referent counselors were judged by the interns as being significantly more attractive than expert on their training tapes. On the quality control tapes, however, the interns judged the white referent counselor as being more attractive than expert on only one of two tapes. The black referent counselor was not judged as being more attractive than expert on either quality control tape. Yet for the clients as a whole there was a significant main effect for the attractiveness role. It was differentially perceived by the clients.

The quality control tapes provide evidence of inconsistency in role performance by both expert and referent counselors. Apparently the expert counselors were inconsistent enough to preclude the occurrence of a main effect for the role of expertness. There appears to have been enough consistency to generate a significant main effect for attractiveness.

While the use of videotape may add a new dimension to both establishing training criteria and to assessing control variables, it may also create problems. The use of videotape could have been a factor in the lack of significance for counselor role in the client perception of expertness. The use of videotape could also account for the disparity between intern judgments of referent counselors as being inconsistent versus client perception of referent counselors as being significantly attractive.

Videotaped assessment can be construed as an analog to the in vivo experience of the clients. As with all analog situations, there is the danger of losing critical elements of the process in the attempt to control it. The videotaped assessment process introduces a new method of control, but it simultaneously raises the question of whether judging a videotape for counselor expertness or attractiveness is equal to the perception of expertness or attractiveness that a client experiences in the in vivo situation.

Another possible reason for the lack of a main effect for expertness may lie in the nature of the receptionist's introduction of the client to the counselor. All counselors were described as graduate students either directly or indirectly. Undergraduate students could view that designation as one that is incongruent with expertness qualities.

In two distinct groupings, the counselors were perceived as relatively equal in terms of expertness. Black clients perceived the counselors as significantly more expert than white clients perceived them. This view of the counselors as being more expert suggests that for this black population expertness is an attribute that is an inherent, or at least expected, quality that pertains to the counselor role.

This perceptual difference leads to the possibility that for these black clients expertness is not necessarily a discrete component, but a general attribute for a role. This power base would be referred to as the legitimate base by Strong and Matross (1973). Corrigan (1980) has suggested that this power base, particularly in the initial phase of counseling, may mask the effects of expertness and attractiveness.

That a minority group would perceive all counselors as "legitimately" expert has some face validity. It is not inconceivable that a counselor may be viewed by some population groups as being an expert solely on the basis of socially defined characteristics of the counseling role. From a minority group member's perspective, that counselor role could be very high in the majority group's power structure. In the final analysis of the failure to differentiate the expert role, the possible masking of expertness must be seriously considered.

All clients perceived the referent counselors as being significantly more attractive than expert counselors. This means that by virtue of their attire, behavior, and introduction, referent counselors were perceived by the clients as being very similar to them in terms of basic values, attitudes, and experiences. The clients perceived the referent counselors as being significantly more similar to them

than they perceived the expert counselors. No other variable or combination of variables affected the overall perception of a difference in role.

The attainment of the referent role suggests that it can exist without regard to race of client or counselor. These results can be understood in terms of the more existential viewpoint of Vontress (1979), who has consistently suggested that there are more similarities than differences in the human condition. The referent counselors, both white and black, acknowledged their similarities to the clients, both white and black, and were perceived as more attractive. Perception of attractiveness or similarity occurred across racial lines. The referent counselors achieved this by wearing casual attire, conveying an open and friendly attitude, using their first names, using reflective statements, and making four self-disclosures to stress similarity of attitude and experience. In addition, the role was enhanced by an introduction stressing personal counselor interest in career planning.

As depicted in Table 10, the white clients perceived the white referent counselors to be significantly more attractive than they perceived the black expert counselors. This is consistent with the expectations derived from the interpersonal influence model (Strong & Matross, 1973). The less similar a counselor is to a client in terms of values, attitudes, and experience, the less the counselor can be expected to be rated as attractive.

When the expert and referent roles have been adequately performed, a differentiation has existed in the perception of clients and viewers in earlier research (Dell, 1973; Kerr & Dell, 1975; Merluzzi

et al., 1977). The literature would lead one to expect additional significant contrasts in perception. White clients would be expected to view white referent counselors as significantly more attractive than white expert counselors. Black clients would be expected to view black referent counselors as significantly more attractive than black expert counselors. None of these additional contrasts occurred.

In this study there was no main effect for expertness (Table 5) and not all counselors were consistent (Table 18), so one could not expect a significant difference between all expert and referent roles on attractiveness. It is important to note that the one significant contrast included the black expert (Table 10). This particular counselor was judged by the interns to be the only counselor consistently in her assigned role on both tapes. This very consistency of performance may be a factor in the significant contrast between her attractiveness and the higher attractiveness of the white referent counselor as rated by white clients.

The black expert counselor's consistency would lead one to expect that black clients would perceive her as significantly lower on attractiveness than referent counselors. This does not occur. One factor which may help explain this is consideration of counselor role attributes. If black clients consider expertness to be an inherent attribute of counselors in general, then the black expert's consistency would not make her any different in their eyes. Black clients considered all counselors in general to be more expert than white clients perceived them (Table 5).

Black clients had a significantly more positive attitude toward problem solving than white clients had. This could have been a result of some factor associated with their cultural experience, but no evidence is available to support such a conclusion. On its face value, the tendency would be to accept the opposite conclusion for members of a minority racial group subject to bias from the majority group. One would expect any prior existing difference to be in the direction of a less positive attitude toward problem solving on the part of black students.

The second possibility is that these particular black students had a more positive attitude because of some unique characteristic or experience prior to the interview. In subject selection a moderate percentage of the black subjects came from a pool of black fraternity and sorority candidates. These students could be conceived as somewhat more enterprising than the average student, white or black. Such a group could have skewed the results.

A third possibility is that the counseling interview itself was a more positive influence on the black students than on the white students. Black students did perceive all counselors as more expert than white students. It is possible that the perception of expertness influenced black student attitude toward problem solving.

There was no significant difference between black and white clients in being influenced to return a questionnaire, nor were there significant interactions. There was a tendency, approaching significance, for the black students to be more likely to return their questionnaire. This tendency for a behavioral effect along racial lines is congruent with a possible attitudinal influence on the black

students. This explanation makes sense when one considers the black students' perception of the counselors as more expert. An alternative explanation is, again, the selection pool of black clients. Fraternity and sorority candidates could be construed as more attentive to social obligations.

The lack of interaction effects for the expertness variable could be attributed to a failure to create the expert role for the counseling environment. As noted earlier, there is also the possibility that expertness was masked by legitimate power. The last possibility is that there are no interactions. The referent role, for example, was perceived as intended, and there were still no interactions.

The results of this study support the contention that the race of the client is an important factor in the way counselors are perceived and perhaps even in attitude change. Results suggest that some components of the interpersonal influence model apply to interracial counseling situations. Both black and white clients did perceive the referent role as intended. Components of the expert role as a discrete power base may not be so universal in application. Blacks apparently perceived all counselors as inherently expert. This last factor could have influenced the attitude difference between the racial groups toward problem solving. Finally, in contrast to all expectations, there were no interactions.

CHAPTER FIVE CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

Based on the results of this study, the following conclusions were drawn:

1. While the expert counselor role was not perceived as such by the clients, black clients perceived all the counselors in general to be more expert than white clients perceived them.
2. Black and white clients were able to differentially perceive the referent counselor role from the roles portrayed by nonreferent counselors.
3. White clients perceived the white referent counselor as significantly more attractive than the black expert counselor.
4. Black college students evidenced a significantly more positive attitude to problem solving than white college students following one short interview.

Implications

One implication from this study is that counselors are perceived by black clients as experts. There have been subtle indications of this perception in earlier research, but primarily in terms of black client preferences. In Cimboric's 1972 study, black clients

demonstrated a significant preference for counselors on the basis of experience and skill level. Comparing black versus white student reaction to counselors, Ewing (1974) concluded that black students tended to rate both black and white counselors more favorably than did white students. A suggestion of the Schneider et al. (1980) study was that blacks perceive mental health professionals in a hierarchy of expertise and would go to the more prestigious professionals for personal problems.

In McKay et al. (1982) black subjects rated the low influence counselor significantly higher than the white subjects did on expertness, attractiveness, and trustworthiness. Sue (1978a, 1978b) has stressed the cultural and class bound values that are an inherent component of western world counseling approaches. In the world view of some clients, counselors may indeed be the expert teachers of verbal, emotional, behavioral, and expressive openness. The counselor is not only the representative of the values of the dominant white middle class culture, but, as an identified healer, comes to the counseling session with enormous power attributed to that role by the third world cultures (Kinzie, 1978).

A second implication of this study is that the attainment of the referent role and its perception can be accomplished without regard to the race of the counselor or client. There is both experimental and theoretical support for such an implication. The evidence from Banks (1972) study on empathy suggests that empathy had a greater effect on rapport than race. Gardner (1972) had concluded that individuals with backgrounds similar to the client's could be recruited and trained to be effective counselors with black students.

Wright (1975) tracked the perceptions of black clients over five sessions and registered an increase in the favorable perception of the opposite race counselor over time.

Wolkon et al. (1973) had had more pessimistic results, but it led them to call for the training of both whites and blacks to include understanding for clients of different cultures. This call for cultured awareness and training has been echoed and expanded by Vontress (1974). He urged whites to share affective experiences with black clients in the black environment. Vontress (1979) also argued for an existential approach which concentrates on the commonalities rather than the race of the counselor. Similarities of experience apparently can have a greater effect on perception of attractiveness than the counselor's race. Immersion of counselors into different cultures may sensitize them to the elements which will enhance their appeal to different race clients. Counselors could then more readily take advantage of the cross racial capability of the referent power base.

A major implication for theory is that the interpersonal model of counseling (Strong, 1968; Strong & Matross, 1973) is not universally applicable to all ethnic components of U.S. society. This is not the first time such an implication has been made for a counseling style or model. Comparing directive versus nondirective approaches with Asian-American students, Atkinson et al. (1978) suggested that specific counseling techniques are not necessarily generalizable to all cultures.

The results of this study suggest that the expert role may not be a discrete entity for black clients. Manipulation of status,

experience, and behavior has consistently elicited differential perception of counselor expertness (Claiborn & Schmidt, 1977; Hartley, 1969; Price & Iverson, 1969; Schied, 1976; Spiegel, 1976). In all of those studies, the clients were white. This is the first study manipulating the components of the expert role with black clients. In this study, blacks perceived all counselors as significantly more expert than white clients perceived them.

Another implication for theory is that a counselor's expert power may be a legitimate part of the counselor's social role. Cash et al. (1978) found that clients with positive attitudes towards the helping professions perceived professionals as being experts. Corrigan (1978) found that while attractiveness was important for subjects seeking help from friends, expertness was important when seeking help from professionals. Corrigan et al. (1980) went so far as to say that " . . . perceived expertness is not only a prerequisite to expert power but it is, in the case of the counselor, legitimate power as well" (p. 432). The results of this study imply that, at least for black students in the initial phases of counseling, counselors legitimately possess expertness as part of their social role.

A critical implication for both practice and future research lies in the lack of a significant main effect for the expert role and the demonstrated inconsistent behavior of the counselors. The implication is that there may sometimes be a lack of congruence between a counselor's personality and a given role. In none of the interpersonal influence theory research has this been addressed.

A major reason for this may lie in the assumption of a dynamic interdependence view of influence (Johnson & Matross, 1978) which

does not look at the characteristics of the person exerting influence, receiving influence, or the influence attempt, but rather looks at the forces existing in the interdependent relationship. By avoiding a trait/factor approach an assumption is made that one counselor can enter a therapeutic relationship as neutrally as any other and that the aspects of a given role can be enacted by any counselor with practice. The reality may be that it is quite difficult for some counselors to convincingly adopt the isolated components of a "pure" role.

A final implication for practice is derived from the significant positive attitudes of black students toward problem solving. If these positive attitudes were in any way influenced by one short counseling session, then the implications are far reaching. The major implication is that a personal outreach program could, with great efficiency, provide beneficial counseling resources to many minority college students. The majority of the black students who participated in this study were reached through a personal presentation by the researcher in their social organizations.

Much more active involvement on the part of counselors has been urged for years. Harper and Stone (1974) called for counselors to take action in delivering services; Sue and Sue (1977) urge counselors to be action oriented in initiating counseling. Higgins and Warner (1975) recommended group action oriented approaches. Vontress (1977) and McDavis (1978) invited the counselor to meet and experience black clients in their own worlds. Black clients, particularly in the university setting, can be reached by those willing to commit and extend themselves into the worlds of black students.

Summary

Race has unquestionably been an issue in both racially similar and racially dissimilar therapeutic relationships. Unfortunately, a major portion of the research in the area has consisted of essays and discussions of opinions. There existed a need to identify what behavior was effective, and in what way, within interracial dyads. A counseling model was available (Strong & Matross, 1973) which had carefully delineated counselor characteristics but had not yet systematically incorporated the client characteristic of race. The purpose of this study was to use that model to assess the effects of black and white counselors' expert and referent power bases on the perceptions, attitudes, and behavior of black and white clients.

Research of black client attitudes towards counseling has sometimes been mixed, but the preponderance of evidence indicated not only a preference for same race counselors but more satisfaction with them. Outcome research has consisted of much more mixed results that have not been adequately explained by racial differences alone. Interactions have apparently been present, and there have been suggestions that differing counseling models may have played a role in the interactions.

The social influence model (Strong & Matross, 1973) focuses on the interaction between counselor and client. A key element is client perception of counselor attributes. Research has identified specific reputational, behavioral, and objective cues, which differentiate perception of a counselor's expert versus referent power base. Both power bases have been shown to be equally effective in influencing

white clients. When counselor race has been varied with white clients, there has been a significant race by role interaction.

In this factorial study, black and white college students were randomly assigned either to a control group or to see a counselor for a 20 minute career counseling interview. The counselors were either black or white and used either an expert or referent counseling style. Control subjects read handouts of the same material presented in the interviews. Posttreatment measures included client perceptions of the counselor using the Counselor Rating Form, client attitude toward problem solving, and the frequency of return of a mailed questionnaire. Analysis of variance procedures and loglinear analysis were used to test the influence of each independent variable and all possible interactions of the variables on the dependent measures.

Analysis of the results yielded significant results in some, but not all, cases. While there was no main effect for role in the client's perception of expertness, black clients perceived the counselors in general to be more expert than the white clients perceived them. All clients perceived the referent counselors as being significantly more attractive than the expert counselors. Considering race of client separately, white clients perceived white referent counselors to be significantly more attractive than black expert counselors. In another main effect for race, black clients had significantly more positive attitudes toward problem solving than white clients. There was no difference in the rate of return of the questionnaires. There were no significant interactions discovered in any of the analyses.

Recommendations

Based on the results of this study, the following research studies are suggested:

1. A descriptive study using the Counselor Rating Form should be conducted to survey the attributes different racial groups, and males and females give to counselors.
2. There should be a replication of this factorial design study incorporating both male and female counselors. This study would concentrate on the possible separate or interactive effects of gender.
3. A factorial study should be conducted with a different ethnic or racial group in order to assess the applicability of the interpersonal influence model to its members.
4. A correlational study should be conducted to investigate the relationship between counselor personality profiles and client perceptions of that counselor as measured by the Counselor Rating Form.
5. A correlational study should be conducted to determine the relationship between social class and attitudes towards problem solving among black and white youth.
6. An experimental study should be conducted to examine the short term influence of the interpersonal influence model on the behavior of black and white youth. The behavioral measure should be a relatively simple one.

APPENDIX A
COUNSELOR RATING FORM

COUNSELOR RATING FORM

Listed below are several scales which contain word pairs at either end of the scale and seven spaces between the pairs. Please rate the counselor you just saw on each of the scales.

If you feel that the counselor very closely resembles the word at one end of the scale, place a check mark as follows:

fair ____:____:____:____:____:____: X unfair

OR

fair X:____:____:____:____:____:____ unfair

If you think that one end of the scale quite closely describes the counselor, then make your check mark as follows:

rough ____: X :____:____:____:____:____ smooth

OR

rough ____:____:____:____:____: X :____ smooth

If you feel that one end of the scale only slightly describes the counselor, then check the scale as follows:

active ____: X :____:____:____:____:____ passive

OR

active ____:____:____:____:____: X :____ passive

If both sides of the scale seem equally associated with your impression of the counselor or if the scale is irrelevant, then place a check mark in the middle space:

hard ____:____:____: X :____:____:____ soft

Your first impression is the best answer.

PLEASE NOTE: PLACE CHECK MARKS IN THE MIDDLE OF THE SPACES.

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agreeable ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ disagreeable

unalert ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ alert

analytic ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ diffuse

unappreciative ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ appreciative

attractive ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ unattractive

casual ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ formal

cheerful ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ depressed

vague ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ clear

distant ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ close

compatible ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ incompatible

unsure ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ confident

suspicious ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ believable

undependable ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ dependable

indifferent ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ enthusiastic

inexperienced ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ experienced

inexpert ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ expert

unfriendly ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ friendly

honest ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ dishonest

informed ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ ignorant

insightful ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ insightless

stupid ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ intelligent

unlikeable ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ likeable

logical ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ illogical

open ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ closed

prepared ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ unprepared

unreliable ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ reliable

disrespectful ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ respectful

irresponsible ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ responsible

selfless ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ selfish

sincere ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ insincere

skillful ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ unskillful

sociable ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ unsociable

deceitful ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ straightforward

trustworthy ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ untrustworthy

genuine ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ phony

warm ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ cold

APPENDIX B
PROBLEM-SOLVING ATTITUDE SCALE

PROBLEM-SOLVING ATTITUDE SCALE

DIRECTIONS: Circle the answer which best expresses your opinion.

Form A

1. I would prefer a job involving technical responsibility to a job involving supervisory responsibility.
Strongly agree; Agree; Uncertain; Disagree; Strongly disagree
2. Chess is a game that appeals to me.
Strongly agree; Agree; Uncertain; Disagree; Strongly disagree
3. I like to solve equations.
Strongly agree; Agree; Uncertain; Disagree; Strongly disagree
4. When a question is left unanswered in class I continue to think about it afterwards.
Almost always; Frequently; Occasionally; Rarely; Almost never
5. I would rather have been Thomas Edison than John Rockefeller.
Strongly agree; Agree; Uncertain; Disagree; Strongly disagree
6. As a child I liked arithmetic better than spelling.
Strongly agree; Agree; Uncertain; Disagree; Strongly disagree
7. I would rather be an engineer than a doctor.
Strongly agree; Agree; Uncertain; Disagree; Strongly disagree
8. I enjoy being the score keeper when playing bridge or canasta.
Almost always; Frequently; Occasionally; Rarely; Almost never
9. I would rather listen to a comedy than to a "Facts Forum" type of radio program.
Almost always; Frequently; Occasionally; Rarely; Almost never
10. I wish I had taken more math courses than I have.
Strongly agree; Agree; Uncertain; Disagree; Strongly disagree
11. Once I pick up a puzzle book I find it hard to put it down.
Almost always; Frequently; Occasionally; Rarely; Almost never
12. In high school I preferred algebra to English.
Strongly agree; Agree; Uncertain; Disagree; Strongly disagree
13. For me the most important thing about a job is the opportunity for independent thinking.
Strongly agree; Agree; Uncertain; Disagree; Strongly disagree
14. I would rather have someone tell me the solution to a difficult problem than to have to work it out for myself.
Strongly agree; Agree; Uncertain; Disagree; Strongly disagree

15. It is hard for me to concentrate on what I'm doing.
Almost always; Frequently; Occasionally; Rarely; Almost never
16. I like games which involve intellectual problems.
Strongly agree; Agree; Uncertain; Disagree; Strongly disagree
17. I would like to major in philosophy.
Strongly agree; Agree; Uncertain; Disagree; Strongly disagree
18. I would rather participate in a spelling contest than in a
multiplication contest.
Strongly agree; Agree; Uncertain; Disagree; Strongly disagree

PROBLEM SOLVING ATTITUDE SCALE

DIRECTIONS: Circle the answer which best expresses your opinion.

Form B

1. I am more interested in the theoretical than the applied aspects of my major field.
Strongly agree; Agree; Uncertain; Disagree; Strongly disagree
2. I like to play anagrams.
Strongly agree; Agree; Uncertain; Disagree; Strongly disagree
3. Mathematics is one of my favorite subjects.
Strongly agree; Agree; Uncertain; Disagree; Strongly disagree
4. When a problem arises that I can't immediately solve I stick with it until I have the solution.
Almost always; Frequently; Occasionally; Rarely; Almost never
5. I would rather be Einstein than the president of General Motors.
Strongly agree; Agree; Uncertain; Disagree; Strongly disagree
6. I like to try new games.
Almost always; Frequently; Occasionally; Rarely; Almost never
7. I am more interested in the physical sciences than the humanities.
Strongly agree; Agree; Uncertain; Disagree; Strongly disagree
8. I find it helpful to count on my fingers when doing arithmetic.
Almost always; Frequently; Occasionally; Rarely; Almost never
9. I prefer fiction to nonfiction.
Almost always; Frequently; Occasionally; Rarely; Almost never
10. Every college student should take at least one math course.
Strongly agree; Agree; Uncertain; Disagree; Strongly disagree
11. I like puzzles.
Strongly agree; Agree; Uncertain; Disagree; Strongly disagree
12. English is one of my favorite subjects.
Strongly agree; Agree; Uncertain; Disagree; Strongly disagree
13. I would like to do scientific research.
Strongly agree; Agree; Uncertain; Disagree; Strongly disagree
14. I am challenged by situations I can't immediately understand.
Almost always; Frequently; Occasionally; Rarely; Almost never
15. I enjoy problem solving of many kinds.
Strongly agree; Agree; Uncertain; Disagree; Strongly disagree

16. I avoid games which involve intellectual problems.
Almost always; Frequently; Occasionally; Rarely; Almost never
17. I would rather be a philosopher than an artist.
Strongly agree; Agree; Uncertain; Disagree; Strongly disagree
18. I am as good at solving puzzles as most of my friends are.
Strongly agree; Agree; Uncertain; Disagree; Strongly disagree

APPENDIX C
GENERAL INTERVIEW INSTRUCTIONS

General Interview Instructions

Dear Interviewer,

Your task is to play a specific "role" in counseling interviews with U. of Fl. undergraduates. The role you will learn to enact is based upon the Strong and Matross (1973) social influence model of counseling. Three power bases are described which delineate the forces the counselor possesses to help change client behavior. These three power bases are expertness, attractiveness (or referent power), and trust. In this study, two of you will be trained to make use of those reputational and behavioral cues which literature has shown clients perceive as expert. Two of you will be trained in those cues perceived as referent.

Each counseling session will be limited to 20 to 25 minutes. The clients are coming in to discuss problems related to problem solving and career planning. If other topics are brought up, refer them to an appropriate counseling site (U. Counseling Center or Student Mental Health). All students will have signed an informed consent form before beginning. Any student can withdraw at any time. Finally, two of your 20 counseling sessions will be randomly selected and taped to insure standardized treatment. This information is contained on the informed consent forms.

Rehearsal should take no longer than two hours. There will be one simulated counseling session that will be taped at the end to assure role standards are initially attained.

APPENDIX D
INSTRUCTIONS FOR EXPERT ROLE

Instructions for "Expert" Role

Evidential clues such as office decor, diplomas, titles, and even attire have had the effect of increasing perceived expertness (Corrigan et al., 1980). Limitations on facilities and the desire to avoid too artificial a setting necessitate elimination of office decor, diplomas, and the like as cues. Your attire, however, can readily lend itself to being a cue of your "expertness." Research has shown an attire by role interaction. "Expert" counselors are therefore expected to wear a dress, pant suits, or similar more formal attire. Use of some makeup and jewelry will also enhance your role.

Since reputational and behavioral cues have been stronger in their effects (Corrigan, 1980), they will be emphasized in enhancing your expert role. Here is what your role will be in a step-by-step sequence.

1. Your attire is somewhat formal.
2. You will be described by the experimenter as
Ms. _____ who has completed work on her
Master's degree and is an advanced graduate student
in a doctoral program who has knowledge of research
in career counseling and decision making.
3. You will immediately begin structuring the relationship by
 - a) Not rising from your seat.
 - b) Directing the student to their seat.
 - c) Making a summary statement of purpose and intent.

d) Avoiding overt warmth and responsiveness.

4. Introductory Summary Statement Example:

"Hello, I'm Ms. _____. I understand that we're here today to help you with some problems of problem solving and career planning. Our time is pretty limited so here's what I propose we do.

a) I'll ask you some specific questions.

b) Then we can discuss your answers in terms of my counseling experience and research study.

c) Finally, I'll teach you a simple but highly effective problem solving and decision making strategy.

5. Ask specific questions from your protocol list.

6. Throughout the session make use of these descriptions of expert behavior to guide your performance.

"The expert was organized and knew what [she] was doing. [She] structured the interview by suggesting possible topics and where the subject might begin. [She] described the task to the subject, and [she] explained that [her] own role in the interview was to facilitate the subject's discussions" (Schmidt & Strong, 1970, p. 87).

"The expert was attentive and interested in the subject. [She] looked at the subject; [she] leaned toward him and was responsive to the subject by [her] facial expressions,

head nods, posture and so on. [She] used hand gestures to emphasize her points (Schmidt & Strong, 1970, p. 87).

Other behaviors that have been shown to contribute to expertness are

- a) Use of abstract psychological terminology
 - b) Directiveness
 - c) Core conditions
 - d) An attentive, confident, and reassuring manner
 - e) Eye contact and forward body orientation
 - f) A fluent, spontaneous presentation denoting preparation and asking relevant questions
- (Corrigan et al., 1980).

7. You must make a minimum of 4 references to your counseling experience or to research results that contribute to the session. A list of research information will be provided.
8. You must not make self-disclosures of personal experience with making career decisions, or with any other area.
9. The last 10 minutes of the session will be spent in your teaching and explaining the problem solving strategy to the client. This is your expert influence attempt. The problem solving strategy will also be provided.
10. Refer the client to the Career Resource Center on the first floor of the Reitz Union. This will be done in conjunction with explaining the problem solving strategy.
11. Escort client to the experimenter.

APPENDIX E
INSTRUCTIONS FOR REFERENT ROLE

Instructions for "Referent" Role

Certain cues evaluated in research have been shown to be effective in differentiating perceived attraction or referent power of the counselor. "The most robust differentiation of perceived attractiveness has resulted from variation of counselor behavior" (Corrigan et al., 1980, p. 434). Examples of such behavior include moderate levels of self-disclosure, counselor disclosure of similarity in personal experiences, eye contact, forward body lean toward the client, smiling, head nodding, and reflective statements.

The following sequence will enhance your portrayal of the referent role:

1. Casual attire.
2. An introduction as a graduate student who has had to deal with career planning problems yourself and who is now interested in counseling others with similar problems.
3. Greet the client warmly at the door, use your first name and attempt to put the client at ease.
4. Attempt to convey an openly friendly attitude and liking for the client.
5. Be verbally responsive to the client throughout the interview. Use reflective comments to help the client discuss problems of problems solving and career planning.
6. You must make a minimum of four (4) self-disclosures either describing your experience with those problems or pointing out similarities of attitude between yourself and the client.

7. Do not mention your counseling experience or psychological knowledge.
8. The last 10 minutes of the session will be spent in teaching and explaining the problem solving strategy to the client. This is your "referent" influence attempt.
9. Refer the client to the Career Resource Center. This would best be done in conjunction with explaining the problem solving strategy.
10. Escort the client to the experimenter.

APPENDIX F
PROBLEM-SOLVING STRATEGY

PROBLEM-SOLVING STRATEGY

The following information has been derived from reviews of studies of the problem solving process. The general stages may prove to be beneficial to you in career planning as well as in other personal decisions in your life. The following information consists of general guidelines--you supply the specifics for yourself. The general guidelines are not meant to be a substitute for the professional counseling available to you at the Career Resource Center for career planning or at the University Counseling Center for personal counseling.

Stages of the Problem Solving Process (D'zurilla & Goldfried, 1971)

1. Knowledge of one's general orientation or attitude towards problem solving
2. Problem definition and formulation
3. Generation of alternatives
4. Decision making
5. Verification

Explanation of the Stages

1. General orientation--this is a person's mental set or attitude. Is life accepted as a series of problem solving situations? There is quite a bit of evidence that an optimal problem solving attitude involves the following:
 - a) An admission that problem solving situations are a normal part of life.
 - b) Labeling troublesome or problem situations. This stimulates problem solving activity.
 - c) Being systematic, not impulsive.
2. Problem definition and formulation--this involves getting as much information about yourself and the problem. It may involve taking tests, having interviews, or visiting places like the Career Resource Center. The more information a person has about a problem, the easier it is to solve it. When defining the problem, be specific. Use concrete examples, not vague generalities.
3. Generation of alternatives--this can actually be a "fun" process. One recommended technique for coming up with alternatives is called "brainstorming." In simple terms here is how it's done.
 - a) You (alone or with friends familiar with the problem) start naming as many possible solutions as you can, but
 - b) You must not begin to judge any idea until the brainstorming is over (about 5 minutes).
 - c) "Free wheeling" is welcome. This means even wild ideas are OK to throw in. It is easier to tame a wild idea than to work without ideas.
 - d) Get quantity. You want as many ideas as you can get.

- e) Use combinations and improvements of ideas as they are suggested. Build on other ideas.
4. Decision making--this is the process of selecting one action from a number of alternatives. This involves
- a) Gathering information (already done in steps 2 and 3!).
 - b) Your estimate of the probability that each alternative will result in a particular outcome.
 - c) Your estimate of the value of each outcome for you.
 - d) Finally, your selection of a plan of action based upon the value of the outcome and the likelihood that the outcome will take place.
5. Verification--this takes place after a course of action has been selected. You are testing your judgement with experience. You can make use of test situations before totally committing yourself. For example, if you are undecided about a career even though you have all the material in writing before you, you can try some work in that field. Get involved in volunteer work, or a temporary position in that area to see what it's like. Talk to those in that occupation. You will be testing your outcome against your expected outcome. If the match is satisfactory, the problem solving process can be terminated. If the match is unsatisfactory, then return to the beginning of the problem solving stages using your new experience.

APPENDIX G
PROTOCOL LIST FOR EXPERTS

Protocol List of Questions for Experts

1. How would you describe your present problem? Give me specific examples in terms of behavior. What are your desires?
2. What influences are pushing you to change?
3. What forces are preventing change?
4. What steps have you taken so far?

APPENDIX H
EXPERT VERSION OF PROBLEM-SOLVING STRATEGY

EXPERT VERSION OF PROBLEM-SOLVING STRATEGY

The following information has been derived from reviews of studies of the problem solving process. The general stages may prove to be beneficial to you in career planning as well as in other personal decisions in your life. The following information consists of general guidelines--you supply the specifics for yourself. The general guidelines are not meant to be a substitute for the professional counseling available to you at the Career Resource Center for career planning or at the University Counseling Center for personal counseling.

Stages of the Problem Solving Process (D'zurilla & Goldfried, 1971)

1. Knowledge of one's general orientation or attitude towards problem solving
2. Problem definition and formulation
3. Generation of alternatives
4. Decision making
5. Verification

Explanation of the Stages

1. General orientation--this is a person's mental set or attitude. Is life accepted as a series of problem solving situations? There is quite a bit of evidence that an optimal problem solving attitude involves the following:
 - a) An admission that problem solving situations are a normal part of life. [Expert Reference--those who express

confidence in their ability to control the environment are better problem solvers (Lefcourt, 1966; Rotter, 1966.)]

- b) Labeling troublesome or problem situations. This stimulates problem solving activity.
- c) Being systematic, not impulsive. [Expert Reference--good problem solvers are systematic in their approach (Dollard & Miller, 1950; Osborn, 1963; Shafte1 & Shafte1, 1967).]

2. Problem definition and formulation--this involves getting as much information about yourself and the problem. It may involve taking tests, having interviews, or visiting places like the Career Resource Center. The more information a person has about a problem, the easier it is to solve it. [Expert Reference--from Reviews of Literature--(Bourne, Ekstrand, & Dominowski, 1971).] When defining the problem, be specific. Use concrete examples, not vague generalities. [Expert Reference--successful problem solvers tend to translate difficult and unfamiliar terms into simpler, more concrete or more familiar terms (Bloom & Broder, 1950).]

3. Generation of alternatives--this can actually be a "fun" process. One recommended technique for coming up with alternatives is called "brainstorming." In simple terms here is how it's done.

- a) You (alone or with friends familiar with the problem) start naming as many possible solutions as you can, but

- b) You must not begin to judge any idea until the brainstorming is over (about 5 minutes). [Expert Reference--from Bayless, 1967).]
 - c) "Free wheeling" is welcome. This means even wild ideas are OK to throw in. It is easier to tame a wild idea than to work without ideas. [Expert Referent--from Maltzman, 1960--used in training for originality.]
 - d) Get quantity. You want as many ideas as you can get. [Expert Reference--used by Parnes, 1967--more good ideas result.]
 - e) Use combinations and improvements of ideas as they are suggested. Build on other ideas.
4. Decision making--this is the process of selecting one action from a number of alternatives. This involves [Expert Reference--D'zurilla & Goldfried, 1971.]
- a) Gathering information (already done in steps 2 and 3!).
 - b) Your estimate of the probability that each alternative will result in a particular outcome.
 - c) Your estimate of the value of each outcome for you.
 - d) Finally, your selection of a plan of action based upon the value of the outcome and the likelihood that the outcome will take place.
5. Verification--this takes place after a course of action has been selected. [Expert Reference--without engaging in validation, a person may persist in the performance of an inadequate course of actions (Levine, Leitenberg, & Richter, 1964).] You are testing

your judgement with experience. You can make use of test situations before totally committing yourself. For example, if you are undecided about a career even though you have all the material in writing before you, you can try some work in that field. Get involved in volunteer work, or a temporary position in that area to see what it's like. Talk to those in that occupation. You will be testing your outcome against your expected outcome. If the match is satisfactory, the problem solving process can be terminated. If the match is unsatisfactory, then return to the beginning of the problem solving stages using your new experience.

APPENDIX I
INFORMED CONSENT

Informed Consent

University of Florida undergraduates will take part in a study designed to help determine what is the best approach to helping students resolve difficulty with problem solving and career planning. Some students will receive interviews with graduate student counselors, while some will not. All students, however, will receive an information and referral packet designed to help them with both the areas under study.

Ten percent of the interviews will be taped with the camera focused on the counselor--the taping is solely to ensure that specific approaches are used for comparison. All tapes will be erased immediately after scoring of the counselor's approach. Following the interviews, students can expect to spend approximately 30 minutes filling out questionnaires necessary for the study's success. The students not having an interview will be given their questionnaires after spending 10 minutes reading through their information and referral packet.

Students are free to withdraw their consent and discontinue participation at any time. There is no monetary compensation for the program, but it is hoped that the information provided to participants will facilitate their problem solving and career planning. If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to ask the receptionist.

Please sign below: I have read and understand the procedure described above. I agree to participate in the procedure and I have received a copy of this description.

Signatures _____

Subject

Relationships if other than subject

Witness

Principal Investigator's Name and Address

A copy of the Informed Consent signed by the subject and witnessed is to be placed in the respective experimental record of each subject and a duplicate copy is to be retained by the subject.

APPENDIX J
MAILED ANNOUNCEMENT

MAILED ANNOUNCEMENT

Dear Student:

If you are having difficulty making decisions about your career and in solving problems related to career planning, then you are invited to participate in a short research study that may help you. An advanced graduate student in the Counseling Program has arranged opportunities for a limited number of undergraduates to meet once, individually, with a graduate student in counseling to discuss problem solving and career planning. Not all participants will meet with a counselor, but all who participate will be given an information and referral packet describing problem-solving skills and vocational aid sources on campus. If you are interested, please call me in the evening and leave your name and a phone number where you can be reached.

Sincerely,

Mark Peddle
375-0810

Note: This is not a commercial ad, but a bona fide research study at the University of Florida.

APPENDIX K
FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONNAIRE
OPEN ENDED QUESTIONS

FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONNAIRE
OPEN ENDED QUESTIONS

Dear Student,

You recently participated in a study of problem solving and career planning. It would be appreciated if you would answer the questions contained here so that we can follow up the results of the study. A stamped, self-addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Mark Peddle

1. How satisfied were you with your counselor?
2. How satisfied were you with the information handout?
3. What could have improved your experience?
4. What, if anything, have you gained from the experience?
5. Please provide any other comments you wish to make.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

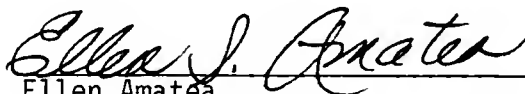
Mark Peddle was born and raised in Bridgeport, Connecticut. After graduating from Yale in 1966 with a B.A. in psychology, he joined the U.S. Air Force. For nearly 12 years he served as a fighter pilot, in peace and war, in Southeast Asia, Europe, and the southern U.S. Just before leaving the military, he obtained an M.A. in counseling, psychology, and guidance from the U. of N. Colorado in 1977. He was accepted into the U. of Florida doctoral program in 1978. After completion of a full year internship at Duke University, he is scheduled to graduate in August of 1983.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



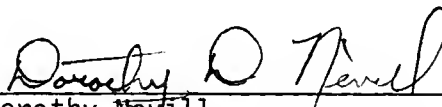
Rod McDavis, Chairman
Professor of Counselor Education

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Ellen Amatea
Assistant Professor of Counselor
Education

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Dorothy Nevill
Associate Professor of Psychology

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Counselor Education in the College of Education and to the Graduate School, and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

August 1983

Dean for Graduate Studies and
Research

